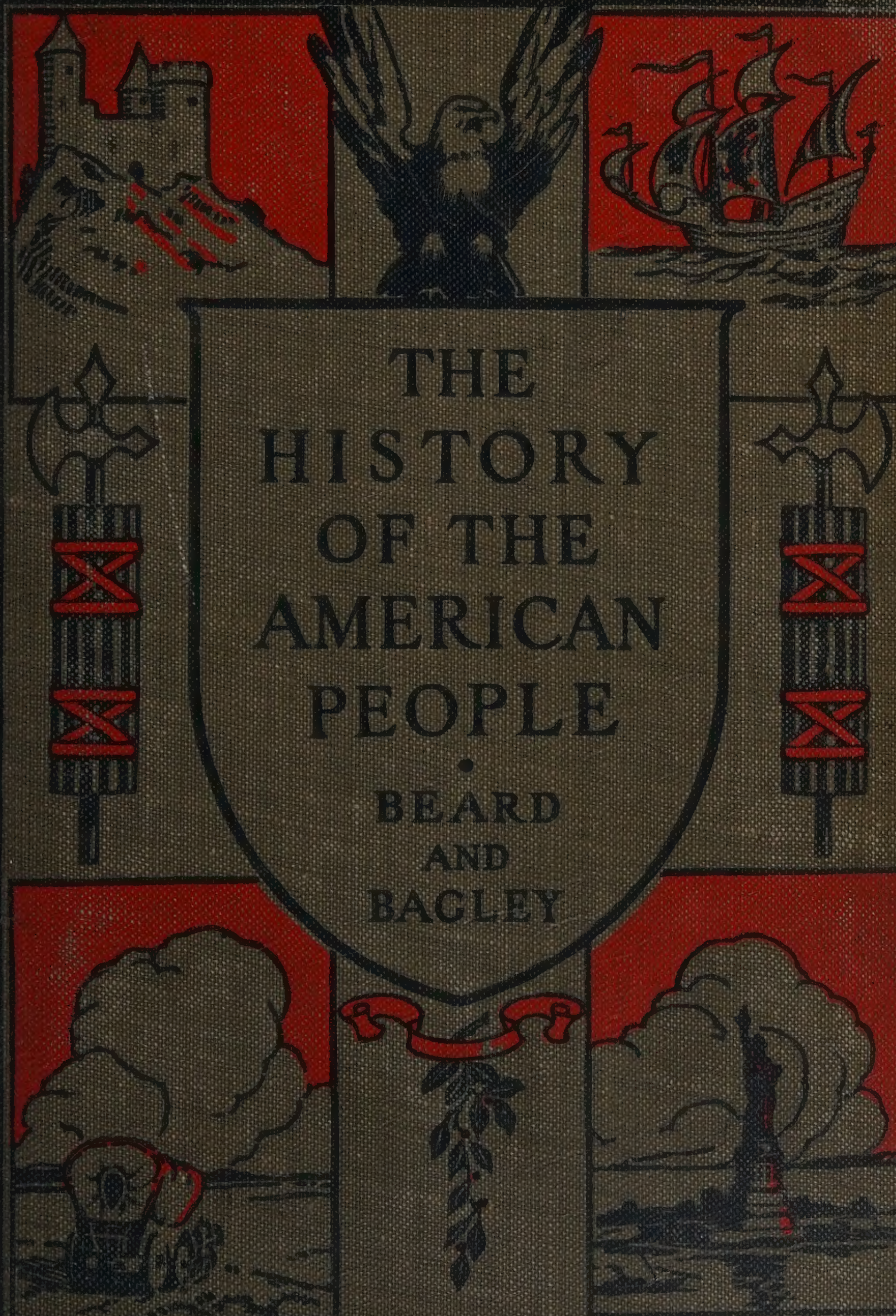

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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BEARD
AND
BAGLEY

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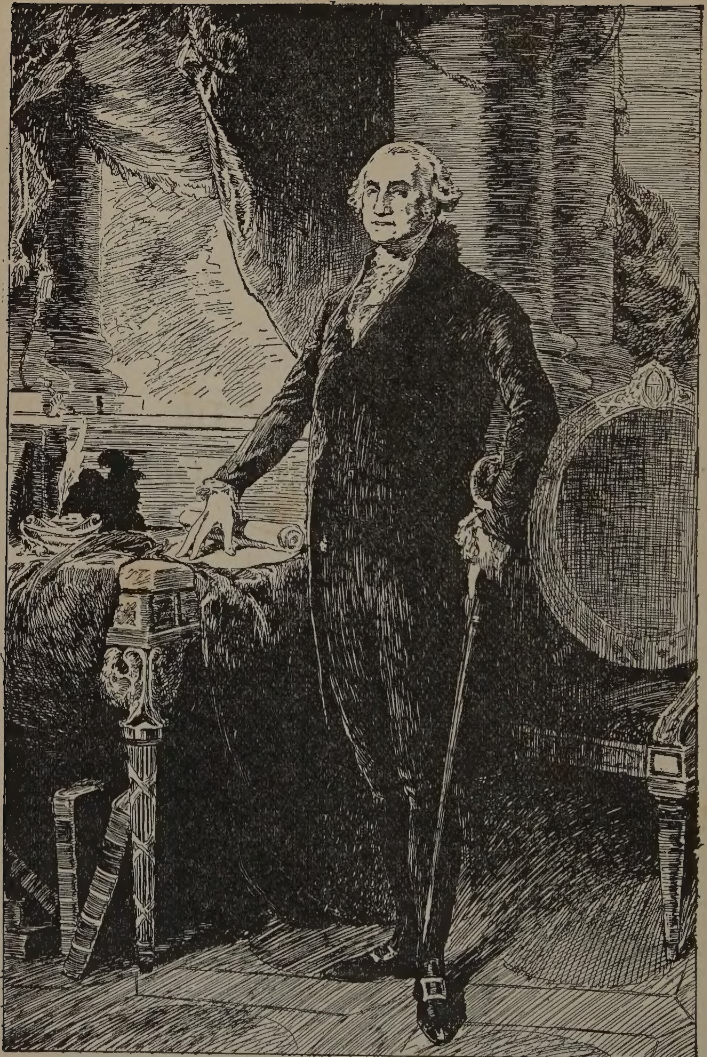
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



From a painting by Stuart

GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE

BY

CHARLES A. BEARD

AND

WILLIAM C. BAGLEY

New York
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1920

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PREFACE

ONE great motive has dominated the content and arrangement of this volume: the preparation of children for citizenship through an understanding of the ideals, institutions, achievements, and problems of our country. No mere almanac of facts, dates, and names, no matter how exhaustive or how presented, can accomplish this purpose. It can be done only by teaching boys and girls to think of events and issues of the living present in the light of their historical past, by giving them above all a sense of historical continuity.

We have sought to catch the deep-flowing and powerful currents of American life, to present them fairly and justly, to engage the interest of the students in them, and to show their significance to the issues of the present hour. Only in this way does history become living. Only in this way can pupils be shown why they should study history. Such a story of American life and labor and ideals, if rightly told, must challenge the admiration and faith of those who believe that democracy is not to perish from the earth but to flourish and triumph everywhere.

In carrying out our ideal we have selected those striking features of American history which bear upon and help to explain our own age. We have conceived of the whole as a vital, moving story with certain very definite and fundamental acts and scenes. We have sought to give to the book that unity which comes from such a controlling purpose, and have subordinated to it all details and collateral matter.

In the execution of this plan we divided the whole field of American history into periods and topics. Having agreed upon the fundamentals necessary for a book of historical instruction in citizenship, we then broke each fundamental up into its essential parts. If a famous event or time-honored story required telling, we adjusted it to the unity so planned. At no time did we permit the love of novelty or mere respect for the traditional materials of schoolbooks to betray us into sacrificing the sweep of the magnificent story to the supposed requirements of the all-comprehending "manual."

This plan has necessitated the omission of many of the staples of the textbooks. For example, the space given to the North American Indians has been materially reduced. They are interesting and picturesque, but they made no impress upon the civilization of the United States. In a history designed to explain the present rather than to gratify curiosity and entertain, Indian habits of life and Indian wars must have a very minor position. So it is with many a famous anecdote used to adorn our history tales. They, too, have been sacrificed, with regret but firmness, to the guiding purpose agreed upon at the outset.

In a plan so conceived, the topical method of treatment inevitably takes precedence over the purely chronological method. One striking advantage of this treatment is to bring forcibly to the attention of the students the essential feature of each historical period. It helps them to think of history in terms of great interests and achievements rather than in terms of presidential administrations. The story of America cannot be cut into quadrennial sections. Nevertheless the topical method is open to some objections, and we have tried to meet them by summaries and tables and in many instances by repetition of facts in different connections. As a result of this treatment students will not gain, for example, the impression that the people of this country, between 1820 and 1860, lived either by presidential administrations or by the slavery controversy alone.

American history should not be presented as a shadowy record of mysterious personages, far removed from the life and labor of the masses. Such history does not interest or inform the child. Furthermore, it is not true history. America has been made by the labors, sacrifices, and ideals of millions of men, women, and children unhonored and unsung in the ordinary books. That is the essence of democracy. The fate of the nation in a very real sense lies in the hands of their sons and daughters who study its history in the public schools. They are to be the makers of history as well as the students of it, and this fact cannot be too often brought home to them. The achievements, traditions, ideals of the past — these are sources of inspiration to those who hold the future in their hands. To help make these an open book to the coming generations is the underlying purpose of this volume.

In thus recasting American history we think that we have not omitted an event or a date or a personality of cardinal importance. Moreover, we have endeavored to avoid anything that looks like distortion to meet preconceived views. We have sought to be fair to all parties and to give grounds for just judgment. If we have made errors of omission or commission, we shall be glad to learn of them and to correct our record accordingly.

C. A. B.
W. C. B.

NEW YORK CITY,
April 19, 1918.

TO THE TEACHER

A manual for teachers has been prepared to accompany this book. There are, however, certain suggestions regarding the use of the book as a text that may be briefly stated here:

1. The chapters are subdivided into convenient lesson-units. The questions at the end of each chapter are grouped and numbered (with Roman numerals) according to these units.

2. The "Problems for Further Study" given at the close of each chapter are intended to be only suggestive of what pupils may be asked to look up and work out for themselves, either individually or in groups. Page references are given in connection with many of the problems, but the references, too, are only suggestive. Pupils who have access to other books should be encouraged to bring in additional information.

3. At the close of each important period will be found a list, "Outline for Review." Only the more important topics are given in these lists. In the work of review the pupils should be encouraged to expand the outline by inserting the less important topics.

4. The brief lists of dates and names that appear with the "Outline for Review" include the dates and names that have been found by various investigations to be the most important in connection with the several periods of American history.

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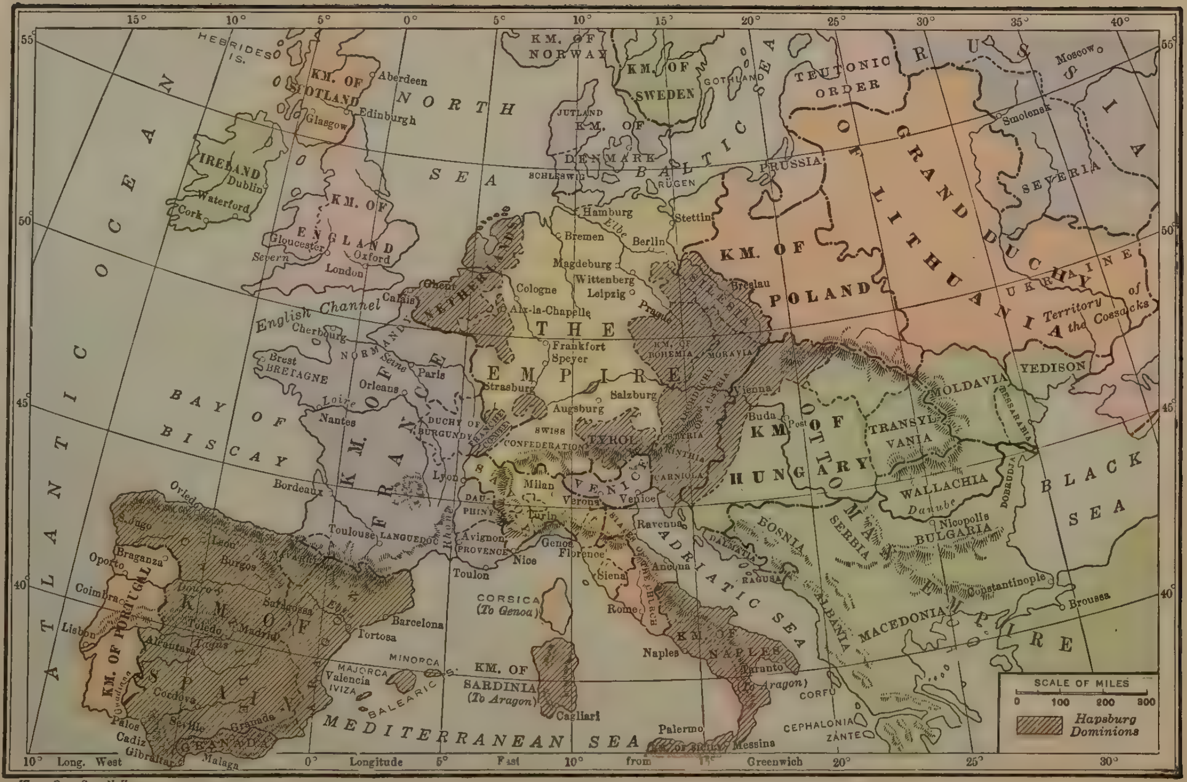
THE HISTORY OF
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

EUROPEAN BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The United States is one of the youngest nations of the earth. Centuries before the Declaration of Independence, there were in Europe, Asia, and northern Africa many powerful countries in which dwelt kings, nobles, priests, teachers, merchants, skilled workmen, and peasants. Our sister republic of the Orient, China, had been a civilized nation for thousands of years when the old Liberty Bell at Philadelphia rang out the tidings of the new America on July 4, 1776.

I. The Old World Background

The United States is the heir of all the ages. We are indebted to the most ancient peoples, the Egyptians, Hebrews, Arabs, Greeks, and Romans, who studied the world and human life and recorded their ideas in many books. They did not invent the typewriter or the telephone; but they produced great works of art, built up long-enduring systems of law and government, created the science of mathematics, and went deeply into mechanics and navigation. They wrote learned works and mastered many of the mysteries of nature. To them we owe our religious faith and much of our wisdom.

In the middle and later ages, the Christian religion was spread by Catholic missionaries among the barbarians of northern Europe even to the borders of Iceland; the great states of Spain, France, and England were built up out of warring principalities; universities were founded; and the light of science, which went out after the fall of Rome, was kindled once more. The distant past was linked to an age which saw the discovery of the New World.

THE CANTER-
Men and women of Chaucer's time, less than one

The very language spoken by the men who sailed the ships which Columbus commanded had come down from the language of the ancient Romans. The language of the American people, the language in which this book is written, had its origin hundreds of years before any English explorers set foot on this continent. Many a good book and story had been written in it. Some of the theories which we now hold about government, the right to vote, the ownership of property, education, labor and capital, were formed long before America was discovered.

Most of the ideas which we think new and modern had already been debated in Europe at a time when this country was only a hunting ground for Indian tribes. It was the people of Europe, with religious faith, notions of government, and habits of life already formed who founded the United States.

From a Painting by R. A. Stothard

BURY PILGRIMS
hundred years before the discovery of America.

America would have been discovered had there been no Columbus; but there could have been no United States had it not been for the tens of thousands of peasants, artisans, merchants, sailors, and adventurers — common men and women — who braved the dangers of long ocean voyages, cut down the forests, cleared the land, built the towns, drove back the Indians, and pushed the line of peaceful homesteads across the American continent until it touched the Pacific Ocean. Our first thought should be, therefore, about the sorts and conditions of men and women who first settled in the New World.

Why the American Explorers and Colonists Came from Western Europe. — If we look at the map of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century, we see many things that help us in finding out about the beginnings of American history. We discover at a glance why it was that the rival nations which fought to own the New World were, necessarily, Spain, France, and England. They had once been divided, like Germany and Italy, into duchies, kingdoms, and principalities; but at last the people in each of them — as the solid color of the map shows — had been united under one ruler, and were at peace among themselves. Fighting men had to seek adventure away from home. Trade flourished and merchants looked abroad for new worlds to win. All three countries likewise had long coast lines, which induced many of their inhabitants to undertake shipping, trading, and sea-roving for a livelihood.

These countries were moreover far away from the seaports on the eastern Mediterranean through which came the silks, spices, precious stones, and other valuable articles of trade. Accordingly they had to pay heavy tribute to the Italian merchants who brought Asiatic goods to western Europe, and they were very anxious to open up direct trade with the East. Portugal was in a similar position, but her territory was small and she fell under Spanish dominion in the sixteenth century. Therefore she was not an important factor in the actual settlement of the New World, although her sailors were among the bravest explorers and founded Brazil.

Conditions in Middle Europe in the Sixteenth Century. — As we move eastward along the map we find very different conditions. Instead of the united Germany of our time, whose ships before the Great War plowed every sea, and whose busy merchants went into every corner of the earth, we see a country divided into hundreds of petty states. They were all united, it is true, under what was known as the Holy Roman Empire, but the power of the emperor was very slight and the rulers of the little states were, for practical purposes, independent. They were frequently at war with one another and often they secured foreign aid in wars upon their own neighbors. Owing to these petty conflicts trade could not flourish and the energies of the people were consumed in civil strife.

Between Germany and Russia stretched the territory of Poland, which was destined, long afterward, to be divided among Prussia, Russia, and Austria, and to disappear from the map altogether. Russia then faced eastward rather than toward Europe; and about as little was known in England of the life of the Russian people as was known of the East Indies and China. The Russians had little to sell to western Europe except timber and furs, and there was not much traffic between the two sections. To the southeast, from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, lay the vast dominion of the Sultan of Turkey, who had no part in European civilization.

The Smaller European Countries. — Far to the north there were the people of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, who were united under one monarch. They had not yet taken much part in Mediterranean commerce, although there were among them many seafaring men. It is true that the Swedes later set up trading posts on the banks of the Delaware River, after the other countries had shown the way to the New World, but these tiny colonies were soon lost. The Dutch, at the opening of the sixteenth century, were subjects of the Spanish king. It was not until they won their independence by heroic fighting about a hundred years later that they became formidable rivals of the other nations at sea.

Far to the south on the Mediterranean dwelt the Italians.

Their position between Asia and western Europe and their long coast lines invited them to embark on voyages. If anyone is surprised that Italy furnished Columbus to Spain and yet was unable to accomplish anything herself in the New World, a glance at the map explains it all. Italy at the opening of the sixteenth century was broken up into tiny independent states and cities. Italy was a name, not a nation.

II. Life of the People in Europe: the Peasants

Such were the political conditions of Europe, which helped to determine what nations were to struggle for the possession of the New World. We must study also the social conditions of Europe to find out what kinds of men and women were ready to settle in America.

The Peasants. — The first important fact is that the great majority of the people of all the European countries were peasants, engaged in farming. They were not like the American farmers who so commonly own land or rent it and are free to move about over the country at will. Very few peasants owned the fields in which they worked, and they gained little beyond a scanty living, even when they were freemen tilling their own land.

Most of the peasants were serfs or half-slaves bound to the soil. Nearly all land was owned by great landlords — dukes, earls, barons, bishops, and other dignitaries — and the peasants merely had the right to cultivate certain little plots in return for payments made to their landlords in labor, produce, and money. A serf could not leave the estate on which he was born; he could not have his grain ground anywhere except at his lord's mill; he could not marry without the lord's consent. When he died, the lord took a part of his little flock or herd from his family as a sort of inheritance tax.

PLOWING

SOWING

From Prothero's English Farming, Past and Present

REAPING

The peasants gained little beyond a scanty living, even when they were freemen, tilling their own land.

In England, however, by the opening of the sixteenth century serfdom had almost disappeared; that is, the peasants had become simply renters of farm lands, "agricultural laborers," as they were called in that country. They were not much better off than the serfs on the continent, for their rents were high and only a few of them could ever expect to own plots of land outright. The landlord looked upon them as inferior creatures, and, whenever he went by, they had to take off their hats to him.

Those peasants who left their little villages and were caught wandering about in the towns without any money or occupation were liable to be arrested as "sturdy beggars," branded[1] with hot irons, and sent back to the places they had left.

How the Peasants Lived. — The European peasants did not live in farmhouses scattered about over the country as do the farmers in the United States to-day. They dwelt huddled up together in little villages, often under the frowning walls of a great castle where their lord lived. Their houses were almost as crude as the huts of some of the North American Indians. The roofs were made of thatched straw and, more often than not, leaked when heavy rains fell. The walls of the houses were of wood and plaster and sometimes of stone. The floors were of dirt or, occasionally, stone flagging. There were no glass windows except in the houses of the well-to-do. Slits in the walls of the serf's cottage, covered with thin skins, let in enough light to enable the housewife to do her daily tasks. The work of the women was by no means all indoors, for they toiled in the fields with the men from early dawn till dusk, and made "regular hands" at harvest time.

The Peasantry Not Educated. — As for education, the peasants had none. They could not read or write, and it was an especially gifted one who could solve the easiest problem in arithmetic. It was customary for each landlord to have a bailiff who kept the books of his estate. The idea that the peasant or his wife and children had minds of their own which were worth training, or that they had intelligence enough to do anything except the simplest farm tasks, had not entered the heads of the kings or the nobles or even of the peasants themselves.

---

[1] An interesting story of the life of the English common people in those old days is told in Mark Twain's "The Prince and the Pauper."

There were, of course, no newspapers. Printed books were just beginning to be circulated in small numbers, so it was a rare village which had a book of any kind or even a manuscript.

The peasants had little knowledge of the world. They were, no doubt, vaguely aware that there were other countries, for often one or two members of the village had been abroad fighting, and had learned something about foreign peoples. Strange rumors and gossip concerning distant parts of the south were picked up from strolling players and peddlers and at the market town, a few miles away, where the peasant bought salt, iron tools, and simple articles from traveling merchants.

The Peasants Had No Part in the Government. — The peasants and serfs paid taxes, and fought in battles sometimes, but they rarely had any share in the government. The countries of Europe were almost all ruled by kings and princes who laid taxes, made laws, declared war, and concluded peace at their own will. To them the idea that the mass of the people laboring in the fields should have any voice in saying how much money they should grant to the government, or when war should be declared, was absurd. The chief duties of the peasants were to pay taxes, to work on the king's highways, and to rear stalwart sons for the king's army.

III. The Nobility, the Clergy, and the Kings; the Merchants and Tradesmen

The Nobility; a Separate Caste. — Two thirds or more of the land which the peasants and serfs tilled was owned by nobles, great and small, who formed a distinct class known as the nobility. The nobles differed greatly among themselves. Some owned small estates from which

The Feudal Castle of a Great Lord

Under the frowning walls of the castle the peasants dwelt huddled up together in little villages.

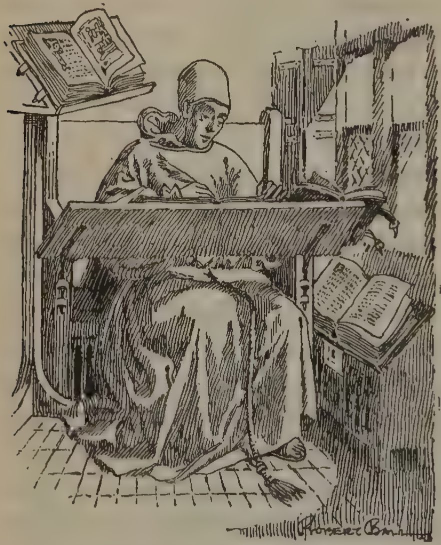
they could scarcely wring enough to live in idleness. Others held vast domains composed of hundreds of villages and sometimes containing one or more large towns. They often fought among themselves for more land, and for a long time they furnished practically all of the fighting men for the kings when the latter were at war. From the nobles the kings drew their chief advisers and their army officers.

The nobles everywhere were proud of their families, and they looked down upon the merchants and the peasants. It was hard to "break into" the nobility. Rank was a matter of birth, not of labor or riches or brave deeds, though sometimes a king would make a nobleman out of a commoner because the latter had rendered some important service or in some other way had gained royal favor.

The Clergy. — Scarcely less rich and powerful than the nobility was the class composed of the clergy. At the opening of the sixteenth century, all western Europe was Catholic and under one head of the Church, the Pope at Rome. The Church was a religious or clerical government within the civil government. All western Christendom was divided into districts presided over by archbishops and bishops owing allegiance to the Pope at Rome. Bishoprics were laid out into parishes, and the religious life of each parish was committed to the care of a priest selected, as a rule, by the lord of the village, perhaps with the consent of the bishop. Every country was dotted over with monasteries, where dwelt the monks of the various orders — Benedictines, Carthusians, Franciscans, and others. There were also many convents, to which women turned from the cares and dangers of the world.

The Power of the Clergy. — In each country the thousands of priests, monks, bishops, archbishops, and other religious persons, constituted a distinct class, like the nobility. As the clergy, they were, of course, separated from other people on account of the religious vows which they had taken, and of their consecration to religious labors. All were bound into one great brotherhood of the faithful by spiritual ties.

Furthermore, the clergy were as a class extremely wealthy. The village priest was often poor, but the clergy as a whole possessed great estates, and the bishops and archbishops sometimes ruled domains as extensive as kingdoms, kept armies, and controlled the government. It is safe to say that nearly a third of the farming lands of England, France, and Spain belonged to the clergy. In addition to the rents and dues which they gathered from the peasants just like other landlords, they collected tithes[1] and fees of many kinds.


A Monk Illuminating a Book

The clergy was the only educated class.

The Clergy the Only Educated Class.—There were other reasons, in addition to their wealth and spiritual power, for the deep influence of the clergy over the people. Practically all learning, religious as well as secular, was in their control. They wrote the books, taught in the schools, tutored princes and sons of noblemen, and did a great deal of the legal work now intrusted to lawyers. The universities were all under clerical control, and were, in fact, conducted principally for the purpose of educating clergymen — for the nobles were often quite as ignorant of literature and science as the peasants who tilled their fields.

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[1] It was an ancient custom that a certain portion of the produce of each community should go to the support of the church. This portion, supposed to be about one tenth, was known as the "tithe."

The Power of the Kings. — At the opening of the sixteenth century in England, France, Spain, and Portugal the government was in the hands of the kings. England had, it is true, a Parliament composed of a House of Lords and a House of Commons, the latter made up of representatives chosen by the smaller landlords of the counties and the burgesses or citizens of the towns. As a matter of fact, however, the English sovereign collected taxes, issued decrees, punished subjects, and declared war about as he pleased. If the Parliament objected seriously to the king's doings, he could easily "pack" it with servile favorites, who would do his bidding. In France, also, there was a shadow of a parliament; but it had even less power than the English legislature and early in the seventeenth century it disappeared altogether. In Spain and Portugal the power of the king was equally great.

Tyrannical as the king sometimes was, he aided in the progress of his country in many ways. He kept peace within his kingdom, for one thing, by suppressing the great barons and nobles who were often not much better than brigands, preying on the travelers and merchants who passed through their domains. The king built great highways, developed uniform laws in all parts of his country, and created a single system of coinage. He maintained good order so that merchants and adventurers might travel in safety from one end of his realm to the other. He often furnished money for voyages of discovery and exploration.

The Merchants and Tradesmen. — In this way the king helped the growth of a new and important class in society, the merchants and tradesmen who, from the sixteenth century onward, were destined to play a great part in the history of the world. They took the leadership in encouraging handicrafts at home and bringing goods from foreign lands. Thus there came to be in every country of western Europe a group of men distinct from the clergy, the nobility, and the peasants — a group which owned not land and castles and monasteries, but ships and stocks of goods and money. Being constantly engaged in traveling or bartering with peoples of other countries, the "merchant adventurers," as they were sometimes called, were better acquainted with the world than the other classes. They were prepared for almost any changes that meant an increase in business.

The Artisans. — In the towns were to be found skilled iron workers, weavers, dyers, and other craftsmen engaged in making articles to sell. The artisans of each craft were organized into unions or "gilds," and exercised strict control over their respective industries.

IV. The Development of Trade

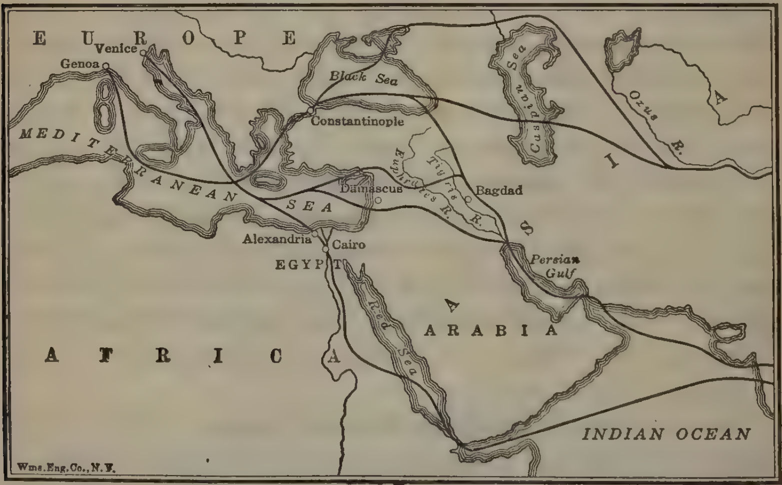
The most desirable luxuries, such as spices, rugs, silks, porcelains, and perfumes, came from far away — from Persia, India, China, and other distant lands. These regions had been known to the Greeks and Romans, who carried on considerable trade with them; and even in the Middle Ages, when the barbarians overran the former Roman Empire, all that had been known of the Far East was not wholly forgotten. During the Crusades made by Christian warriors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to rescue the tomb of the Savior from the hands of the Mohammedans, soldiers and travelers went as far east as Egypt and Syria.

Marco Polo. — Toward the end of the thirteenth century, two famous Venetian merchants, the Polo brothers, journeyed so far into China that they reached Pekin, and were welcomed by the Emperor of the Mongols. Later the son of one of the merchants, Marco Polo, set out for China and stayed there many years, visiting different places and becoming acquainted with the habits and trade of the Chinese.

When Marco Polo returned to Venice, in 1295, bringing diamonds, rubies, and sapphires, he excited interest among other adventurous persons. Polo not only boasted among his friends of the things he had seen, but he wrote a book in which he described at length his wonderful experiences in that mysterious land. In this book he told of the magnificent palace of the emperor, with its halls of gold and silver, its jeweled panels, and its gorgeous tapestries. He described the fine dress worn at the royal court — the robes of silk and beaten gold and girdles set with precious stones. Polo spread about the idea that riches fairly grew on trees in the Orient. Naturally, credulous people wanted to go and pick them.

Carrying Eastern Goods to Western Europe. — After Polo's time the trade of Europe with the Far East increased steadily. Silks, spices, and other rich stuffs were brought along several overland routes from China, India, and Persia to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and thence they were carried principally to the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa. From these ports they were taken by various ways, usually overland, until they reached distant points like London, Paris, and Antwerp. In Germany there was a series of trading centers, Cologne, Bremen, and Lübeck, largely interested in this traffic. Sometimes Italian merchants from Genoa or Venice would venture to send a shipload of the precious goods out through the gateway of the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and up along the Atlantic coast as far as Bruges (in what is now Belgium), and even to London.

Trade among the Western Nations. — In addition to this eastern traffic, there was a growing trade among the nations of Europe during the Middle Ages. Great bales of wool were sent from England to France to be woven into fine cloth. In the little towns like London, Paris, Bristol, Bruges, and Antwerp, hand manufactories began to flourish. Even the peasants in the country had to have salt and some iron, and merchants had early begun to travel about in wagons with these supplies. It was a general practice to have markets or fairs in the principal towns, to which merchants and peasants from the outlying districts would go to trade. The county fair, so famous in the United States, is simply a relic of an ancient institution which was once a real service to the people.



THE OLD TRADE ROUTES FROM VENICE AND GENOA TO THE FAR EAST

The Rigid Separation of Classes in Europe. — All the various classes which have just been described — nobles, clergy, peasants, merchants, and artisans — were kept quite separate in the Europe of Columbus' day. The son of a peasant was almost certain to be a peasant, the son of a merchant a merchant, the son of a nobleman a nobleman. The daughters, at the dictates of their overlords or parents, always married in the class to which they belonged. Few of them expected to rise out of the group in which they were born. Only the clergy came from the other classes. Often a clever peasant boy escaped from servitude in the fields and entered the Church, and sometimes the son of a nobleman took up the religious life.

Generally speaking, there was no opportunity for the poor person to leave the class to which he was born. This state of affairs was regarded by all as perfectly "natural," just as natural as for boys and girls to go to school in our time.

Such was the Old World out of which were to come the people to settle America.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. Be sure that you understand what years are meant when we speak of the "fifteenth century," the "sixteenth century," etc.[1] In what centuries were the following dates: 1215, 1400, 1492, 1519, 1601, 1776? 2. Why should we know something about the history of Europe in order to understand the history of our own country? 3. What countries in western Europe at the close of the sixteenth century had about the same boundaries that they have to-day? 4. What European countries, now united, were at that time divided into smaller kingdoms and principalities? 5. Give as many reasons

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[1]

14th century	15th century	16th century	17th century
1301—1400	1401—1500	1501—1600	1601—1700

as you can explaining why England, France, and Spain were the principal European countries to colonize the New World.

II. 1. Who were the peasants of Europe? 2. How did the European peasants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries differ from the American farmer of to-day?

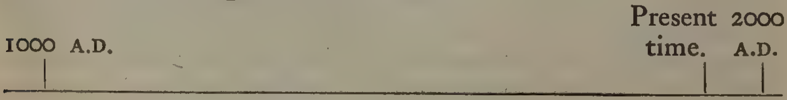
III. 1. How did the nobles differ from the peasants? How did the nobles differ among themselves? 2. How did a person usually become a member of the nobility? 3. How did the clergy differ from the peasants and from the nobility? 4. How did the clergy become so wealthy? 5. How did the power of the kings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries differ from the power of the rulers to-day in most European countries? 6. How did England differ from most of the other European countries even then in its form of government? 7. In what good ways did the European kings sometimes use their power? 8. What new social class grew up in Europe at about the time of the discovery of America? 9. How did this class differ from the peasants and the nobles? 10. What is meant by the word "artisan"?

IV. 1. Who was Marco Polo and what did he do that his name should be so long remembered? 2. Locate on the map the principal cities that were important as centers of trade and commerce just before the discovery of America.

Review. What are the disadvantages of living in a country where the classes are rigidly separated as they were in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?

Problems for Further Study

1. Draw upon the blackboard a line twenty inches long like the following shorter line. Mark upon it at the appropriate points the following events:



Magna Carta, 1215
Discovery of America, 1492

Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1620
Declaration of Independence, 1776
Monroe Doctrine, 1823
Assassination of Lincoln, 1865
Spanish-American War, 1898

2. Our people pride themselves on the fact that there is no rigid separation of social classes in this country as there has been and still is in many of the European countries. Many of our greatest men have come from what would be considered in Europe one of the lower social classes. Lincoln was one of these. What others can you name? Why is it well for a country to prevent classes from becoming rigidly separated? Can you think of any way in which our public schools prevent this?

3. Look up additional facts about Marco Polo and be ready to give to the class a clear account of his journeys and adventures.

See Nida's "Dawn of American History in Europe," ch. xxi; Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book I, pp. 10–23.[1]

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[1] The references given for the "Problems" in this and the following chapters are only suggestive. Pupils should be encouraged to consult other books that they may find in the school library or the public library, or that they may have at home.

CHAPTER II

THE BOLD EXPLORERS

The Europe which we have just described was, in the main, an unchanging Europe. The nobles, clergy, artisans, and peasants were content to go about their daily occupations just as their predecessors had done for generations.

I. THE NEED OF A SEA-ROUTE TO ASIA: THE PIONEER EXPLORATIONS OF THE ITALIANS AND PORTUGUESE

The Italians. — Nevertheless, there were signs of change in Columbus' day. The trade with the East continued to thrive, and many merchants — especially the Italian "middlemen" — grew rich out of the traffic in spices, silks, and other goods brought from India and China. The merchants of England, France, and Spain, seeing the Italian traders reap such a harvest of profits, began to wonder whether they could not find some way to get directly into touch with Persia, the Indies, and China. They became very much excited about a new route to the Indies when in 1453 Constantinople, which hitherto had been in Christian hands, was captured by the Turks. After that great event the course of trade through the eastern Mediterranean, though by no means blocked, was disturbed and hampered.

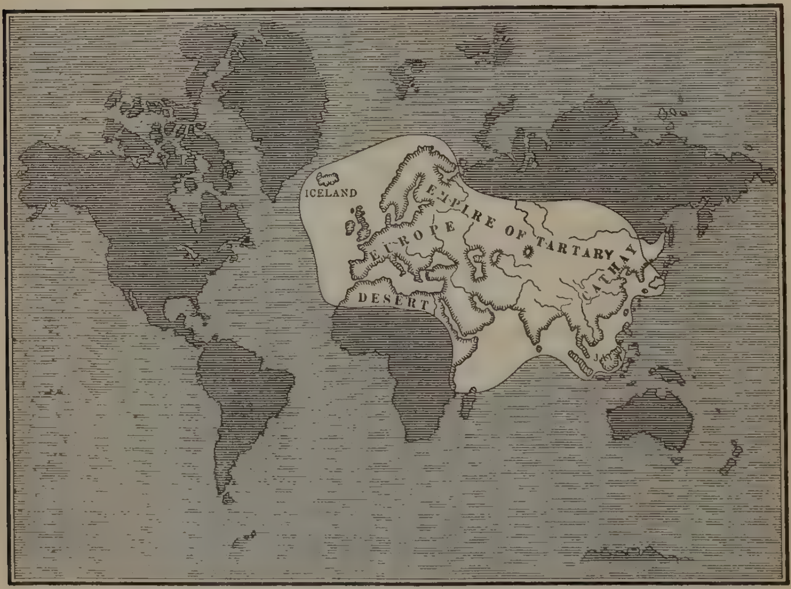
It was not only the merchants of western Europe who were aroused about paying large profits to middlemen. The Italian traders were equally unhappy when they thought of the huge tribute which they paid to the Mohammedan business men at the seaports of the eastern Mediterranean. There was only one solution of the problem — a new route to the Far East whence came the goods they all sought.

The Italians had not been slow to realize this. Nearly two hundred years before Columbus made his first voyage across the Atlantic, courageous Italian navigators had sailed out through the straits of Gibraltar on direct voyages to London and Bruges. Their success in braving the terrors of the high seas encouraged them, and in a little while they went far southward along the coast of Africa in search of a way around to the Indies.

The Portuguese Navigators. *Prince Henry.* — Since these adventurers often stopped at Lisbon, the Portuguese began to take interest in the stirring hunt for new trade routes. Indeed one may almost say that the Portuguese were the pioneers in the work of uncovering the unknown continents of the New World and the distant lands of the Far East. Years before Columbus was born, the son of the King of Portugal, Prince Henry, became interested in ships and sailors and maps, and he did so much to encourage explorers to search the high seas that he won for himself the name of Prince Henry the Navigator.

It took a great deal of money to build ships, and he supplied this money out of his own purse. As it required a knowledge of navigation to undertake long voyages on uncharted seas far from the coast, Prince Henry set up a school for seamen, where books, charts, and maps were collected and where expert seamen were trained to wrestle with the dangers of the deep, and to sail their ships according to the best plans of the time. When he died in 1460, Prince Henry left behind a large group of able sailors who kept up the good work he had so nobly begun.

Old Superstitions about the Sea. — One of the most difficult of the many tasks confronting the brave spirits who set out on explorations was to drive out of the minds of the common sailors all sorts of absurd notions about the terrors of the ocean. Even the wisest of navigators knew little about the high seas, and the ignorance of the seamen passes belief. There were rumors afloat to the effect that the distant oceans were peopled with horrible monsters big enough to swallow a ship at one gulp; that the sea to the southward was boiling hot; that no one could pass through the scalding waters alive; and that the west coast of Africa was a barren waste where sure death awaited any luckless shipwrecked seamen.



The Known World at about the Time of Prince Henry, the Navigator

Although the more learned navigators believed that the earth was round, the rank and file stoutly declared that it

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS AT SAN SALVADOR, OCTOBER 12, 1492 was flat, and that whoever ventured far out at sea was in danger of falling off the edge into a bottomless black abyss. It was only by gradually extending their voyages that the sailors found these ideas to be utterly false.

Good Work of the Portuguese Sailors. — Many of these first voyages were undertaken by the Portuguese. By the middle of the fourteenth century they had discovered the Canary Islands, Madeira, and the Azores, and had ventured down along the coast of Africa until they reached the headlands, which they named Cape Verde (the Green Cape).

At length one of the ablest of this brave school of Portuguese seamen, Bartholomew Diaz, sailed all the way down the west coast of Africa and, in 1487, rounded the cape. He was pleased with the success of his voyage, and the king gave to the southern point of Africa the name of the "Cape of Good Hope," the name it still bears. When Diaz returned from his long journey of thirteen thousand miles and reported that he had seen no sea monsters, and that the boiling ocean story was a myth, other sailors grew bolder.

II. Christopher Columbus

A Daring Plan. — The wonderful exploits of the Portuguese sailors stirred the soul of an Italian seaman from Genoa, who was destined to win everlasting fame — Christopher Columbus. As a lad of fourteen years he had begun a wandering life at sea, and in the course of his adventures he drifted to Portugal. This was a turning point in his career. No doubt he learned much from the navigators of Lisbon, and it is thought that he joined in some of the voyages down the African coast. At all events, we know that in 1473 he married the daughter of a Portuguese sailor who had gathered a store of maps and charts. This precious collection later fell to Columbus.

Columbus also had a copy of Marco Polo's book of travels, and he read therein not merely of the wonderful riches of the East, but also of a "great ocean" beyond the dominions of the Chinese emperor. By much deep study he figured it out that the world was round, not flat as most people thought, and that this "great ocean" was a part of the Atlantic.[1] Columbus then came to the conclusion that if he sailed some four thousand miles westward — a voyage of five or six weeks — he could reach Zipango, or Japan, which lay off the coast of China.

Ferdinand and Isabella Aid Columbus. — Hard-headed business men, although they were anxious to find a new route, were not willing to risk any money on such an uncertain venture. On this account, Columbus was a long time in securing money for his expedition. He appealed to the King of Portugal, but in vain. He then turned to the King and Queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. The Queen became deeply interested because she thought she saw an opportunity to bring the heathen of the East into the fold of the Catholic Church. So Columbus, mainly through her aid, was able to secure the money, men, and ships necessary to make the daring experiment. He chose three ships small enough to permit him to skirt along the shores and explore the rivers of the mysterious lands which he expected to visit. In August, 1492, all was ready and Columbus sailed out of the harbor of Palos in Spain for the fateful voyage on the "Sea of Darkness."

Columbus Crosses the Atlantic. — The story of what happened is well known — how Columbus' men grew frightened as they sailed on day after day across the trackless ocean; how some of them begged him to turn back; and how he kept his faith and courage when every one else had given up hope. A picture of the contest between despair and determination to win, which occurred on board the captain's ship, is drawn by an American poet, Joaquin Miller, in these lines:

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[1] Of course, it should be said that Greek scholars centuries before Columbus had come to the conclusion that the earth was round, not flat.

> "My men grow mutinous day by day;
> My men grow ghastly wan and weak."
> The stout mate thought of home; a spray
> Of salt wave washed his swarthy cheek.
> "What shall I say, brave Admiral, say,
> If we sight naught but seas at dawn?"
> "Why, you shall say at break of day,
> 'Sail on! Sail on! Sail on! and on!'"

From an engraving by C. M. McRae

Columbus in Sight of Land

Columbus Lands at San Salvador (October 12, 1492).—On they sailed until at length their weary watching was rewarded, on October 12, with the sight of a strange shore — one of the Bahama Islands. Ferdinand Columbus, the son of the great admiral, in the Life of his father wrote of their landing:

> The whole company kneeled on the shore and kissed the ground for joy, returning thanks for the great mercy they had experienced during the long voyage through seas hitherto unpassed and their now happy discovery of an unknown land.

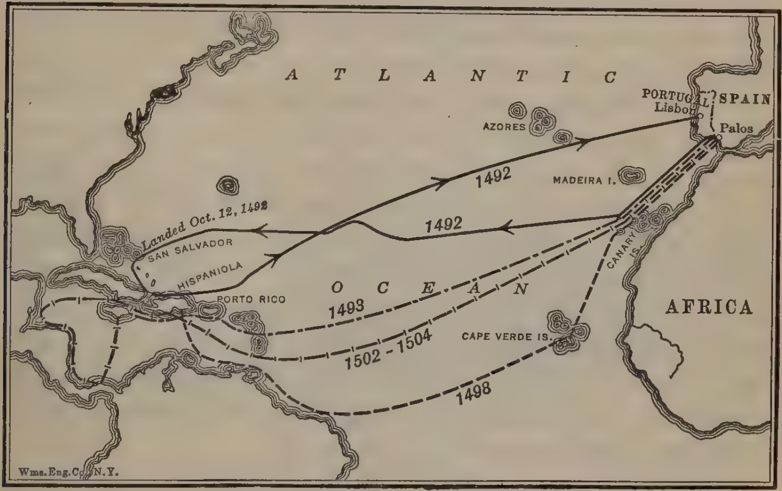
Columbus named the island San Salvador (Holy Savior) and declared it to be territory of the King of Spain. Then for several weeks he sailed about among the islands of that region, discovering, among others, Haiti and Cuba; but he returned home without finding the treasures of gold and silver and precious stones or the fabled cities of the East for which he was searching. A second voyage was equally disappointing.

III. Da Gama, Vespucci, Balboa, and Magellan

Vasco da Gama Reaches India by Sea (1497). — Bitterness was added to Columbus' cup when a Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, in 1497 sailed directly around the Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean to Calicut (whence the term "calico") on the west coast of India, and brought back home a shipload of the spices, silks, and other goods which were so much desired in Europe. When the voyagers returned, in 1499, the King of Portugal wrote exultantly to the king and queen of Spain, boasting of Da Gama's triumph.

The news of this exploit, that the longed-for water route to India was opened at last, stirred Spain more than ever. Columbus made two more voyages across the Atlantic searching for the golden Indies, but without results. He returned home, broken and heartsick, and in 1506 he died in poverty, not knowing that he had discovered a new world.

Amerigo Vespucci Writes of the New World. — Undaunted by the failure of Columbus to find a direct route to the East, the Spaniards continued the search. They employed in this work an Italian from Florence, Amerigo Vespucci. He sailed along the eastern shores of what is now South America, from the shoulder half-way to the southern tip. After his return from this expedition (1504) Amerigo wrote to friends in Italy: "We have found what may be called a new world." Navigators then came to the conclusion that Columbus had not reached Asia at all, but the coasts of a wide continent which barred the way to India. It was in honor of this Italian sailor in the employ of the King of Spain that the name "America" was given to the new lands.



The Voyages of Columbus

Balboa Discovers the Pacific. — The Spanish soon began to open up the continent. The coast of the central region was explored as early as 1508 by Pinzon, who had been with Columbus on the first voyage. Five years later, in 1513, Balboa pushed through the swamps and jungles of the Isthmus, climbed the mountains to the westward, and, on September 25, beheld the gleaming waters of the Pacific.

Magellan's Ships Circumnavigate the Globe (1519–1522).—Two lines of enterprise now began. Some adventurers sought a way around the continent to the Indies, and others explored the new continent itself. In the former group the Portuguese sailor, Magellan, takes highest rank, for it was he who first sailed directly to the Pacific Ocean by crossing the Atlantic.

In 1519 this energetic captain, in the service of the king of Spain, set out for the New World. He skirted the coast of South America, pushed through the straits at the southern end which now bear his name, and then spread his sails on the broad Pacific, little dreaming what vast stretches of water lay between America and the Indies. He sailed bravely on, week after week, outrivaling the daring and endurance of Columbus on his first voyage. After a desperate struggle with starvation and thirst Magellan reached the islands now known as the Philippines, where he was killed in a fight with the natives.

Magellan's men sailed from there in the good ship *Victoria*, crossed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and on September 6, 1522, rode into the harbor at Lisbon. Thus, in the most memorable voyage in the annals of the sea, the globe was encircled.

IV. The Spanish Conquests; Further Spanish Explorations

Mexico. Its Conquest by Cortes. — About the time of Magellan's voyage, Cortes, a Spanish soldier, with a small band of men, discovered the empire of Mexico. The Mexican natives tilled the fields and raised bountiful crops; they had many fine highways, along which a large domestic trade flowed; they had cities; they had made important beginnings in painting pictures and writing books; and the king and the nobles who ruled over the people had amassed great quantities of gold and silver and precious stones. Here was booty for the Spaniards. They fell upon the Mexicans with fire and sword, captured their capital, Mexico City, in 1521, and in a little while were in possession of a mighty domain, thickly settled, and rich in the precious minerals.

Soon Christian missionaries from Spain went over to Mexico and converted the people to the Catholic faith. Monasteries or missions were built in all parts of the country; a Spanish government was set up; and thus a "New Spain," as it was called, was established — a Spain very much like the old in religion, government, and the customs of the people.

THE PALACE OF CORTES AT CUERNAVACA, MEXICO

The strange empire thus brought under the rule of Spain is described in many entertaining letters written by the conqueror, Cortes, to his sovereign at home. One of these he devoted entirely to an account of the marvelous city of Mexico and the court life of the Mexican sovereign, Montezuma. In this dispatch he tells of the public squares and market places, where more than sixty thousand merchants were busy buying and selling jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, timber, precious stones, rabbits, herbs, medicines, foodstuffs of all kinds, honey, sugar, cotton thread, dyes, paints, and earthenware. He tells of temples and chapels where dwelt the priests of the heathen faith, of the palaces inhabited by the rich lords, of the wonderful gardens and balconies supported by marble columns, of the museums filled with human freaks, and of the bird houses where the emperor's servants had collected specimens of all the known species of the empire.

Peru. Its Conquest by Pizarro. — While the Spaniards were busy conquering Mexico, they heard rumors of another great empire to the southward in Peru; and Pizarro, a cruel soldier, set out with fewer than two hundred men to find it. After a long and perilous journey, they came upon a country superior in many ways to Mexico, and especially rich in the booty which they were seeking. They speedily overcame the natives in battle and looted the temples, palaces, and even the tombs of the dead, carrying away all the precious metals and jewels they could find. It is estimated that Cortes and Pizarro wrung at least $7,000,000 from the Mexicans and Peruvians as "gifts," and took as much more by force.

Explorations to the Northward. *De Leon and De Soto.* — The stories of fabulous riches won by the conquest of Mexico and Peru set all the other Spanish adventurers on fire with the hope of still greater adventures. So they turned to the northward, undismayed by a fruitless journey which De Leon had made into the Florida country as early as 1513. From Cuba, De Soto, one of Pizarro's old lieutenants, went forth with a band of horsemen and soldiers, all armed to the teeth and dressed in gorgeous colors, ready to overawe and conquer any emperors and potentates whom they might chance to meet. With banners flying they landed on the coast of Florida in 1539 looking for worlds to conquer.

How bitter was their disappointment! Instead of Mexico cities they found miserable Indian villages.

But having set out with grand expectations De Soto would not turn back. For four long years he dragged his dwindling band inland through jungles, forests, and swamps, hoping each day that the next would reveal great treasures. In 1541 he reached the turbulent waters of the Mississippi, and yet he pressed on until death broke his will and stilled his stout heart. His followers, in the night, dropped his body down to the bottom of the mighty river which he had discovered, hoping thus to conceal his death from the Indians, who had been told that Christians were immortal.

THE ZUÑI TERRACE

In place of cities and treasure, such as Cortes and Pizarro had found, Coronado discovered only wretched Indian villages.

The remnants of De Soto's band, freed from the command of their stern captain, found their way as best they could back to Spanish settlements.

Coronado. — While De Soto was out on this luckless journey, another Spanish adventurer, Coronado, was exploring from Mexico what is now the southwestern part of the United States.

In place of cities and treasure, such as Cortes and Pizarro had found, he, too, discovered only wretched Indian huts and villages. These were not the exploits which the Spanish soldiers were seeking, but they gave to the King of Spain a claim to vast territories.

V. The French and the English Explorations; Conflict between England and Spain

French Explorations. *Verrazano.* — News of the returning Spanish galleons bringing tons of gold and silver from the New World was not long in reaching the ears of the King of France. In fact, one of his sea captains, Verrazano, an Italian, had been lucky enough to seize two of the treasure ships which Cortes sent home from Mexico. The French king, stirred by wonderful tales from New Spain, fitted out, in 1524, an expedition for Verrazano, who explored the eastern coast of North America and attempted to find a northwest passage to the East Indies. This expedition gave France a claim to the northern continent.

Cartier and Champlain. — A few years afterward Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River and took possession of its banks in the name of the French king. For a long time, however, French sovereigns were too busy with wars on the continent and religious disputes at home to embark on regular colonization in America. It was not until 1604 that the French planted their first permanent colony at Port Royal in Acadia. Four years later the great explorer Champlain established the post of Quebec.

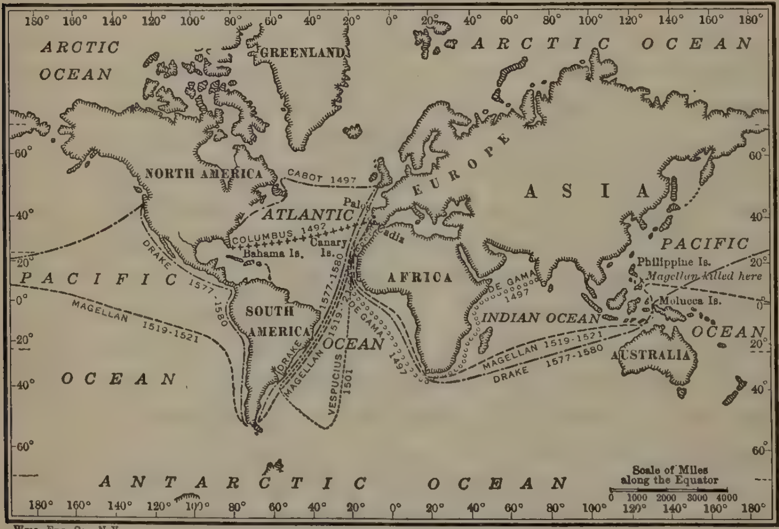
Although the French, by their voyages of discovery, really laid the foundations of a New France in America, that was far from their intention at first. They, too, sought a route to India or another Peru to conquer; not a fertile land, where French peasants could have fields to till.

When the French explorers found their way to the Far East blocked, they went overland westward to the regions around the Great Lakes, hoping that somewhere in that country might be discovered the cities and markets of China. Their hopes were not realized, but as we shall see they left their mark in the wilderness which they traversed.

English Explorations. *John Cabot (1497–8).* — England was the last of the great nations of western Europe to undertake regular voyages of exploration to the New World. It is true that King Henry VII sent out from Bristol John Cabot, an Italian by birth, with orders to find a way westward to Zipango, or Japan, whence came much of the goods highly prized by Englishmen; but nothing important came of the trip. Cabot did not discover the long-coveted passage to the East. He found, instead, the barren coast of Labrador, where, in 1497, he planted the English flag and thus gave England a shadow of a claim to the whole North American continent. Henry VII seems to have given Cabot £10 for his pains. The next year Cabot sailed again and mysteriously disappeared. Henry VIII, the son of Henry VII, took little or no interest in exploration and discovery.

Francis Drake. — During the reign of Henry VIII's daughter, the famous Queen Elizabeth, English adventure was renewed. By that time there had grown up in England a company of daring sea captains, such as Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, and Gilbert, whose names became household words wherever the English language was spoken. Under the leadership of these men the English navy grew, until at last England was prepared to challenge the rich and powerful kingdom of Spain, and to strike at her source of wealth — the Americas.

The signal for the opening of the conflict was given in 1577 as Francis Drake spread his sails in Plymouth for a voyage around the world — "to singe the Spaniard's beard." Though his Queen was at peace with the Spanish sovereign, Drake sailed down the eastern coast of South America and up the western coast, looting and burning the trading posts along the way, overhauling galleons, and filling his own ships with bars of gold and silver. Far north he went along the Pacific shores until his sails were sheathed in ice. Then he turned back, refitted his vessels at a point near the site of San Francisco, — little dreaming that a republic of English-speaking people would some day stretch to the sands before him, — and at last he set out toward the setting sun. Unlike poor Magellan, he was fortunate enough to round the Cape of Good Hope in command of his ships, and in November of the year 1580 rode safely into English waters. Elizabeth apologized to the King of Spain for Drake's rudeness; then knighted her faithful servant.



Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

GREAT VOYAGES, 1492 TO 1580

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada. — As the news of the deeds of Drake and his countrymen slowly filtered home to Spain, the wrath of the king waxed high. There seemed to be no end to the story of ships sunk, treasure carried off, towns sacked, and settlements destroyed. Proud of his empire, on which the sun never set, and zealous in the support of the Catholic faith, the Spanish king at last determined to bear no longer the insults offered by Englishmen — and Protestants. The challenge had been made on the sea, and on the sea he accepted it.

Fitting up a huge Armada, — the mightiest fleet of battleships that had ever swept the ocean, — the Spaniards rode forth to shatter the growing power of England. Elizabeth's sailors were ready. With a swiftness that dazed experienced Spanish captains, they fell upon the " Invincible Armada" and battered it to pieces. And, as if to add to English luck, a storm came down and blasted the ships which escaped the fire of English guns. This was more than a "great victory." It made way for the British Empire. Henceforth England could plant settlements beyond the seas, and defend them against all comers. Then it was that far-sighted men, like Sir Walter Raleigh, could safely dream of a " New England," to rise in the wildernesses of North America.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Why was a sea-route to Asia so eagerly desired by the people of western Europe during the last quarter of the fifteenth century? 2. Who was Prince Henry the Navigator, and why was he so called? Why is his name remembered? 3. Locate the Madeira Islands; the Canary Islands; the Azores. When and by whom were these islands discovered? 4. Why did sailors hesitate to go southward along the coast of Africa in the hope of finding a route to India? 5. Where is the Cape of Good Hope? How did it get its name?

II. 1. How did Columbus plan to reach the Indies by sea? 2. What difficulties did he have in raising money for his first voyage? How did he finally succeed? 3. How many voyages did he make? 4. Describe the difficulties of his first voyage. How does it happen that the New World does not bear the name of Columbus?

III. 1. Why was the voyage of Vasco da Gama so important? 2. What event should be remembered in connection with the name of Balboa? 3. Magellan's voyage is referred to in the text as "the most memorable voyage in the annals of the sea." Give as many reasons as you can in support of this statement.

IV. 1. In what important way did the work of Cortes and Pizarro differ from that of Columbus, Da Gama, and Magellan? 2. Why did the conquest of Mexico and Peru encourage the Spaniards to make further explorations in America? 3. With the discovery and exploration of what regions are the following names connected: De Leon, De Soto, Coronado? 4. Although all of these men were disappointed because they did not discover what they had hoped to find, their names are remembered in American history. Why?

V. 1. What explorers did France send out? What were the results of their work? 2. What did the King of England hope that John Cabot might discover? What did Cabot actually find? Why were his discoveries of importance to England? 3. How long a time elapsed between the explorations of Cabot and those of Drake? What were the Spanish doing in the way of exploring and conquering the Americas during this period? 4. In what way was Drake's work a breach of good faith on the part of England toward Spain? What was the effect in Spain? How did the King of Spain hope to punish England, and what were the results of his efforts?

Problems for Further Study

1. Carrying goods by water, even to-day, is generally cheaper than transportation by land. Why was land transportation much more inconvenient and costly in the time of Columbus?

2. Make a list of the most important advances in the art of navigation since the time of Columbus, especially regarding: (*a*) means of finding latitude and longitude; (*b*) means of avoiding dangerous coasts and finding safe channels and harbors;

(*c*) means of propelling ships; (*d*) means of steering ships: (*e*) means of making ships secure against severe storms.

Many of the difficulties of early navigation are described in ch. xxii of Nida's "Dawn of American History in Europe."

3. Columbus, Vespucci, and John Cabot were all Italians. Why is it probable that Italy had more and better sailors at this time than Spain, Portugal, and England?

4. In addition to the facts given in the text, give a further account of Columbus' work, particularly regarding: (*a*) his difficulties in getting men and ships; (*b*) the dangers and difficulties of his first voyage and how he overcame them; (*c*) the results of his later voyages.

See Nida's "Dawn of American History in Europe," ch. xxiii; McMurry's "Pioneers on Land and Sea," ch. vii; Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book I, pp. 24–36; Tappan's "American Hero Stories," pp. 1–13; Stapley's "Christopher Columbus," chs. v–x, xiii–xix.

5. Find out additional facts concerning Magellan: (*a*) his ships and crews; (*b*) the details of the long voyage; (*c*) where and how Magellan met his death.

See McMurry's "Pioneers on Land and Sea," ch. viii; Tappan's "American Hero Stories," pp. 14–24; Nida's "Dawn of American History in Europe," pp. 301–305.

6. Tell how the Spaniards treated the natives of Mexico and Peru.

See McMurry's "Pioneers on Land and Sea," ch. ix; Southworth's "Builders of Our Nation," Book I, pp. 43–50; Hart's "Colonial Children," pp. 12–16; Pratt's "Cortes and Montezuma."

7. The defeat of the Spanish Armada is regarded as one of the most important events in European history. Give as many reasons as you can find for its importance.

See Nida's "Dawn of American History in Europe," ch. xxviii; Eggleston's "Our First Century," pp. 8–9; Tappan's "England's Story," pp. 201–204.

CHAPTER III

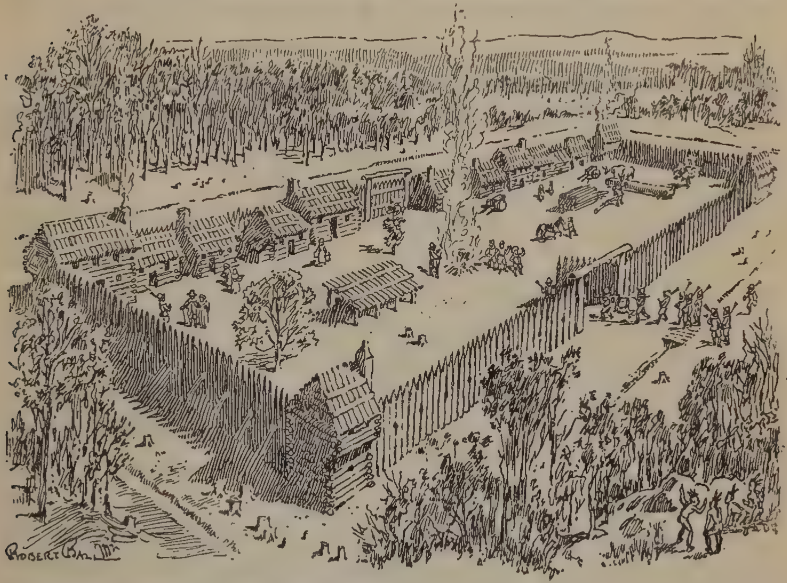
FOUNDING THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA

It was an easy matter to enroll a band of soldiers for an expedition to the New World, which promised booty in gold and silver and precious stones for all who took the risk. The nobles, especially of Spain and France, almost always had about them a troop of fighting men, ready for any exploit that offered excitement and wealth. It was an altogether different matter to find people who were willing to go out and make their homes in the wilderness. No hope of riches lured them. No thought of joyful return to admiring friends and relatives gave them heart for braving the perils. When the pioneer and his family turned their faces toward the setting sun, they knew that the way was long, and the reward at the journey's end, at best, scanty and uncertain. They were not to discover wonderful cities, but to build them themselves.

In such enterprises soldiers were of little help. They were, of course, indispensable in defending the emigrants against enemies, but they did not relish hard work in forests and fields. It takes industrious workingmen and women to found settlements, build homes, rear children, and create a nation.

I. Difficulties and Dangers of Settlement

The Dangers of the Voyage. — There were special reasons why it was difficult to find men and women willing to settle in North America. The perils of the deep were great enough to try the bravest. Under favorable conditions the voyage required from four to eight weeks. Often storms drove them far out of their course, and their supplies of food and water were exhausted. The ships were small and built for coastwise trade rather than for long ocean voyages. Pirates roved the sea, robbing and sinking mercilessly the helpless merchant and passenger ships.



A stockade such as the early settlers built to protect themselves from the attacks of the Indians.

The Indians. — To these perils were added the dangers of attacks by Indians lurking in the forests or by the water's edge, ready to torture, scalp, and kill.

It is just to say that at first the natives received the white men in a friendly manner and with childish glee traded shells, ornaments, and furs for beads, mirrors, and other trinkets. But the whites often paid back their kindnesses in cruel deeds. By the time when regular settlement began, the Indians in nearly every section had learned to fear and distrust the newcomers.

In many places the English were able to buy at low prices large tracts of land from the Indians, and to live for a time on good terms with them; but there was a limit to the amount of land which the Indians were willing to sell. They had to have large ranges for hunting and fishing. For every acre that the white man required for a livelihood, the Indian required a thousand. One thing, therefore, was clear. The Indians could not go on living their wild, free life, if English settlers were to fill up the country. Two alternatives lay before the Indian. He could change his nature and his habits, and turn to labor in the fields like the white man; or he could fight to keep his hunting grounds.

The Indians, of course, could have labored for the white men, but for the proud Indians of the Atlantic seaboard that was quite out of the question. The Spaniards made serfs of many natives in Mexico and the Southwest, and the English sought to follow their example. Their experiments in Indian serfdom failed.

The true North American Indian was restive and sullen when forced to labor in mines and fields. He did not like steady habits. He was used to having his wife or " squaw " do all the hard drudgery of raising corn and tobacco and making utensils, as well as the ordinary housework. Accustomed to a wild life in the forests in search of game, he did not propose to do " woman's work " for anybody. A few tribes, such as the Senecas of the Iroquois group, lived in a somewhat settled manner in " round houses " or " long houses " built of light timbers and bark or clay, but most of them preferred the wigwam of birch bark and skins which was easily portable.

There was no way of inducing the Indian to adopt the white man's way of living. As the country filled up with settlers who steadily encroached on the hunting grounds it became evident that armed conflicts could not be avoided. The English who went out to the New World, therefore, knew that the perils of warfare awaited them.

II. Conditions in Europe which Led to the Colonization of America

In view of the hostility of the Indians, and all the dangers that beset the pioneers in the New World, we may indeed wonder where were the men and women to be found ready to leave their homes in the Old World for the hazards of the New. The answer is to be found in the new conditions that had arisen in Europe.

Between Columbus' day and the date of the first English settlement in America marvelous changes had taken place in all the countries of western Europe, and in England as well. The old order of things had begun to break up, and peasants and merchants became more and more willing to leave their old ways for new, and to risk the perils of life in the wilderness. The history of these important changes is told under the following heads: (1) changes in religion, (2) increased hardships of the peasants, (3) changes due to the development of the art of printing, and (4) the influence of gold from the Spanish possessions in America.

1. **Religious Changes.** *The Protestant Reformation.* — First among these great changes was the revolt against the Catholic Church in northern Europe. About 1521, fifteen years after the death of Columbus, a dispute began which ended in the complete separation of large portions of Germany, and all of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, and England from the Catholic fold. France and Spain remained loyal to the old Church, but not until "Protestant" movements had made them a great deal of trouble and had been put down with heavy loss of life.

In the beginning, the dispute was, in the main, taken up by kings and princes who "protested" against the supremacy of the Pope; hence the term "Protestants." When a prince decided to abandon his ancient faith and turn Protestant, he usually decided for his subjects as well as for himself; and if some of his people resisted the change in their faith, they were liable to be severely punished or driven out of the country.

As time went on, the common people began to assert what princes had asserted; namely, that they had a right to decide for themselves what religious opinions they would hold.

Protestantism in England: the "Established" Church. — In England, King Henry VIII (1509–47) broke with the Pope, declared the independence of the English Church, and placed himself at its head. A few years after Henry's death, important changes were made by law in the services and in Christian doctrines as to religious life and faith. The church thus organized under Acts of Parliament was known as the Church of England or the Established Church.

The Puritans. — In the reign of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth, some of her subjects became dissatisfied with the Established Church. They began to demand its "purification" by abolishing some of the ceremonies which had been taken from the Catholic Church, and by the removal of images from the places of worship. These "purifiers," or Puritans, as they were called, did not propose to overthrow the Established Church altogether; they believed in keeping the authority of the bishops and priests over the laymen; but they wanted to reform the Church in accordance with their notions of what was proper.

The Separatists. — The Puritans had hardly begun to make trouble for the government before there appeared another group of religious reformers who were not content with the mere purification of the State Church, who even denied its authority altogether, and asserted the right of any congregation to adopt its own kind of worship and choose its own preacher and officers. These radicals were called "Dissenters" or "Separatists."

Divisions of the Dissenters: Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers. — The Dissenters were themselves soon divided into many sects. Among these were the Presbyterians, followers of John Calvin, who established his church at Geneva about 1540. The Presbyterians were particularly strong in Scotland, and they were also very influential in England.

Another sect, far more numerous than the Presbyterians, was that of the Baptists. John Bunyan, the author of "Pilgrim's Progress," was of this faith. He wrote his immortal book while in prison for his religious views.

Shortly after the Baptists began to spread their faith in England, a third sect, popularly known as "Quakers," arose as a result of the teachings of George Fox, who began to proclaim his doctrines about 1647. The members of this new body were known as the "Friends," on account of their kindly care of one another. The Friends opposed war and violence, and rejected all religious ceremonies.

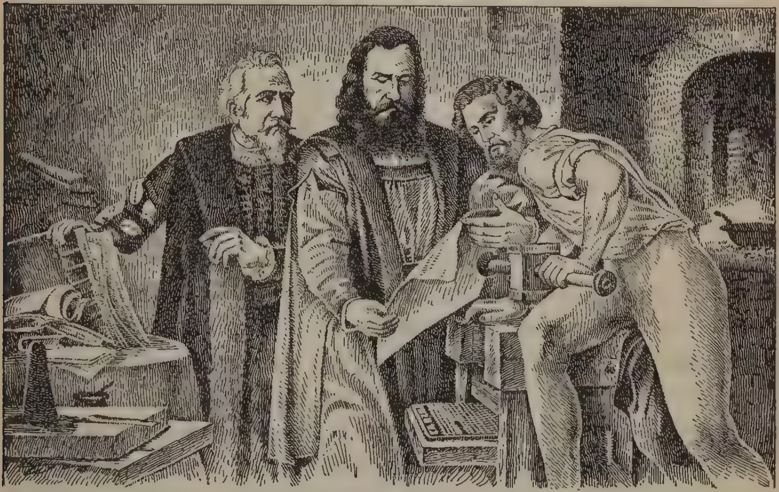
The Persecution of the New Sects Led Many to Leave England. — As new sects sprang up, the older sects looked with disfavor and distrust upon them, and began to persecute them. Catholics burned Protestants at the stake, and Protestants burned Catholics. In England the Established Church was almost as severe in its treatment of the Puritans and Separatists as of the Catholics. The first Stuart king, James I, who came to the throne after the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, was bitterly intolerant towards all of the Dissenters and determined to "harry" them out of the land. Cruel orders were issued against Puritans, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers without discrimination. Their leaders were imprisoned, set in pillories, tortured, and mutilated. Inasmuch as the Church and the government were both in the same hands in England, the Dissenters came to hate the persecuting government as much as they did the Church. No wonder that so many of them preferred the rigors of the New World to the cruelties of the Old. Moreover, James was glad to be rid of them and let them depart in peace.

III. OTHER CONDITIONS IN EUROPE WHICH LED TO THE COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

2. Cruel Treatment of the Peasants in England. — There were other reasons why the peasants were willing to leave their country for the New World. When Henry VIII broke with the Pope of Rome, he seized the lands of the monks and nuns — millions of acres — and gave estates to his favorites. The new landlords, anxious to make all the money they could, often turned their estates into large sheep farms and drove the tenants from their homes, to starve or to hunt a new way of making a living elsewhere.

England, in Elizabeth's day, was filled with wretched peasants who had been driven from the soil on which they were born. If they were caught begging, they were imprisoned, whipped, or branded. If they were caught stealing, they were liable to be hanged. The jails were full and the poorhouses were crowded. Although the population of England was really very small, writers began to discuss ways and means of finding an outlet for the "surplus people." A peasant harried from his home, and ordered to the whipping post by a cruel justice of the peace, was doubtless prepared to try his fortune almost anywhere else in the world.

3. The Development of the Art of Printing. — While the Protestant revolt was growing and religious persecution was spreading far and wide, other grave changes were taking place. Printing, which had been invented in Europe about fifty years before Columbus set sail, had developed rapidly. Books, which had been luxuries for the few when they were all written by hand, now became so cheap that the poorer people could afford them.



THE INVENTION OF PRINTING: TAKING THE FIRST IMPRESSION FROM TYPES

With the growth of Protestantism, the reading of the Bible by the working people became more common, and the various sects sought to keep the children true to their faith by founding religious schools in which were taught their views on the Bible and religion. Through books of travel a better knowledge of the world, of discoveries and adventures, spread even into the remotest villages and stirred up the more courageous to a desire to seek liberty abroad.

4. **The New Supply of Gold from the Spanish Possessions.** — The discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards had increased the gold and silver coin in circulation in Europe. This had two important effects:

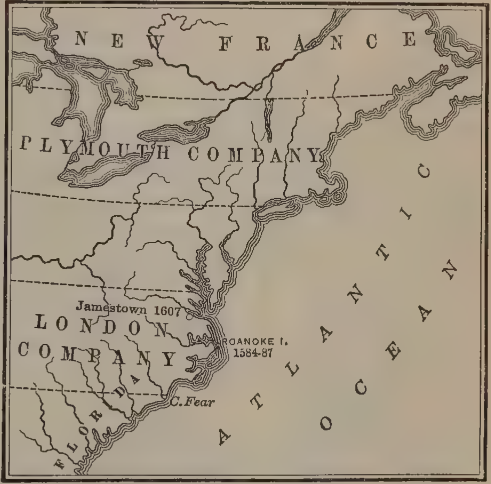
(*a*) Serfs in many parts of western Europe, who had been paying their landlords in labor and produce, began to pay in money and thus became cash renters instead of bondmen. In a way the change was very much like that in our Southern states after slavery was abolished and the slaves became renters of the land they formerly tilled as bondmen. In time the cash renter was free to journey to the towns or to the new countries.

(*b*) Capital to invest in colonies was amassed. The increase in gold and silver, and the discovery of the new routes to India, made business grow by leaps and bounds. Shrewd traders sometimes made as high as one thousand or even fifteen hundred per cent on a lucky voyage to the East Indies. The landlords, who now received cash instead of labor and produce for rent, had some ready money to invest. In this way it came about that at the time when many causes were driving people to the point of leaving England, the capital was available for starting the settlements in the New World.

IV. English Settlements in Virginia

Settlements under "Companies" and "Proprietors." — As we all know, whenever any large enterprise is started, it is necessary to have labor and capital ready. There are two principal ways of getting the latter. Several persons may band together and each put in a sum of money, and perhaps add his labor as well. This we call forming a "company." Another way is for some very rich and powerful person to furnish all the money and invite others to come into the enterprise under his direction. Such a person is called a "proprietor." These were the two ways employed in the seventeenth century to bring emigrants and capital together in order to found settlements or colonies.

The London Company Founds Jamestown (1607). — The first successful settlement of the English in America was made by a company formed for the purpose, and duly authorized by King James I.[1] The king, of course, claimed all of the land discovered by his subjects, and no one had any right to settle upon it without his permission in the form of a grant or charter.



Land Granted to the London and Plymouth Companies

In 1606 James I issued charters to two companies, the London Company and the Plymouth Company, granting to the former an enormous tract to the southward along the Atlantic coast, and to the latter a great tract to the northward. The first of these companies raised money, equipped ships, found settlers willing to make the venture, and dispatched an expedition to America. This expedition reached the shores of Virginia, and in 1607 a colony was founded on the James River at Jamestown, so named in honor of the king.

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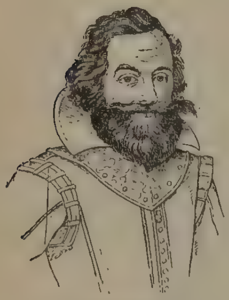
[1] Sir Humphrey Gilbert had plans for founding a settlement in the New World. He landed at Newfoundland (1583) but failed to establish a colony. In attempting to return home, his ship went down in a storm, and all on board were lost. In 1584, Sir Humphrey's half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, sent out an expedition which reached Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina. On its return home, he so highly praised the new country that Queen Elizabeth was greatly pleased with it and named it after herself (the Virgin Queen), "Virginia," and made plans for a permanent colony. Raleigh sent over many settlers, but all his efforts came to naught. His second band of colonists, including women and children, entirely disappeared and no one knows what became of them.

Hardships of the Colonists: the "Starving Time." — The plantation at Jamestown was the beginning of the colony of Virginia which was destined, in the coming years, to furnish so many well-known American leaders, like Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. For a long time, however, it gave little promise. The London Company, which had raised the capital for the experiment, looked upon it largely as a money-making venture. They expected that gold and silver would be discovered and they hoped for some return from the rich soil. But they were disappointed. Searches for precious metals were fruitless, and agriculture did not flourish.



John Smith

Many of the little band of men who went out were poverty-stricken persons, idlers who had nothing to lose and proved to be restless and quarrelsome. They were not prepared for hard labor. When their courageous captain, John Smith, was injured and compelled to return home, they came so near starving that they prepared to abandon the colony. In fact they had set sail, when supplies and new settlers arrived. Thus heartened, the colonists renewed the experiment with more success. Convinced at length that no gold or silver could be found, they resigned themselves to earning a livelihood by tilling the soil.

Wives for the Settlers. — The first settlers in Virginia did not bring wives with them, and it was some little time before any women appeared in the colony. In 1619 a shipload of them came over to risk their fortunes in the New World. They were taken as wives by the planters, who paid for their passage in tobacco.

Labor Difficulties. — It was quite as difficult for the planters to find laborers for their great fields as it was to induce women to come over to America. Many gentlemen of means and poor sons of well-to-do English parents had staked out huge estates and, unaccustomed to hard labor themselves, they were in dire straits for workmen. Large numbers of laborers who had contracted with the Company to work for the planters, finding land plentiful, refused to carry out their promises and went into farming on their own account in the interior.

The First Women to Risk Their Fortunes in the New World

Slavery Introduced (1619). — Altogether, the "labor question" was a serious one for the gentlemen, but at last a solution of the problem seemed to be found. In 1619 a cargo of negroes, torn from their homes in Africa by Dutch slave traders, was brought into Virginia and sold to the planters. The slave trade soon became a profitable business for shipowners in New England as well as in Great Britain, and in time an abundant labor supply was furnished for the plantations.

Virginia Becomes a Royal Province. — As the population of the colony increased, the Virginia Company in London found it more and more difficult to manage a settlement of turbulent planters and laborers some three thousand miles away. The Company's troubles were increased by quarrels with James I, and in 1624 the king revoked the charter, broke up the Company, and assumed the control himself, transforming the colony into a "royal province."

The First Colonial Legislature. — There was, however, an important check on royal authority. In 1619 the Company had invited the well-to-do planters to help in the government by sending two citizens from each settlement and borough to meet with the governor and council at Jamestown. This was the first "people's" legislature on our continent. The assembly, or "House of Burgesses," as it was called, continued to share in the government of Virginia until the Revolution. Many and long were the disputes it had with the royal governor, until at last, weary of the struggle, Virginia joined with the other colonies in declaring its independence from Great Britain.

V. English Settlements in New England

The Pilgrim Fathers. — Shortly before the London Company was abolished by the king, it granted to a small band of English men and women, famous in our history as the "Pilgrims," permission to settle in Virginia. This little group was composed of humble folk who had "dissented" from the English Church and declared their right to form independent religious congregations and to worship God according to their own consciences. The views and conduct of these separatist congregations had thoroughly disgusted King James I, who did not believe that "Tom, Dick, Harry, and Will" had any right to decide religious questions for themselves. James was so intolerant that hundreds of independents fled from England to Holland.

The Pilgrims Reach America (1620). — Although they were generously treated by the Dutch, the Separatists were English at heart and they longed for a land of their own. After much discussion among themselves, many of them decided to go to America, where their countrymen were founding a new nation. In July, 1620, the Pilgrims set out from Holland in the ship *Speedwell* for Southampton, England, where they were joined by another party of Separatists in the famous *Mayflower.* The *Speedwell* proved to be in such a wretched state that the whole party had to put back to port. It was not until September that the Pilgrims, 102 in number, crowded in the little *Mayflower*, finally sailed for America.

They expected to reach Virginia, where they had permission to settle; but they were driven by storms to Cape Cod, within the territory of the Plymouth Company, where they had no rights at all. They debated for a long time what to do. After four or five weeks of exploration along the coast, on December 22, 1620, they landed at Plymouth.[1]

The Mayflower Compact. — Before the Pilgrims went ashore, the men in the Company met in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, and drew up an agreement to form a government among themselves, and to obey the rules made by that government. Thus they looked not to a royal charter for guidance, but to the authority established by the "Mayflower Compact," which has been called the first written constitution in the world. Having guaranteed good order, the Pilgrims set about building their homes amid discouragements such as have come to few pioneers in the history of America.

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[1] They are supposed to have stepped from their row boats to a bowlder which has become celebrated in our history as "Plymouth Rock."

Early Hardships and Final Success of the Colony. — The cold, gray New England winter shut down upon them, and before summer came again one half of the devoted band was dead. Even during the second and third years the Pilgrims suffered grievously.[1] Often "they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning," but they were sustained by the belief that God would not abandon those who worshipped him with such singleness of devotion. In time their harvests became abundant, and friends from England came in such numbers that Plymouth grew into a flourishing settlement.

The Puritans Establish the Massachusetts Bay Colony. — Massachusetts, like Virginia, was founded by a commercial company formed in England. It was chartered in 1629 by King Charles I, who granted to "adventurers" a large domain within the borders of the territory of the old Plymouth Company, which had failed to accomplish anything important. This new concern, the Massachusetts Bay Company, differed, in many ways, from the London Company which planted the Virginia Colony.

In the first place, it was composed entirely of "Puritan" gentlemen who, having failed to reform the English Church to their own liking, were determined to go where they could found churches of their own (see page 42).

In the second place, the Massachusetts Company did not remain in England and attempt to plant and govern a colony across the Atlantic. On the contrary, the members of the Company took the charter which the king had granted them, gathered other Puritans, together with many

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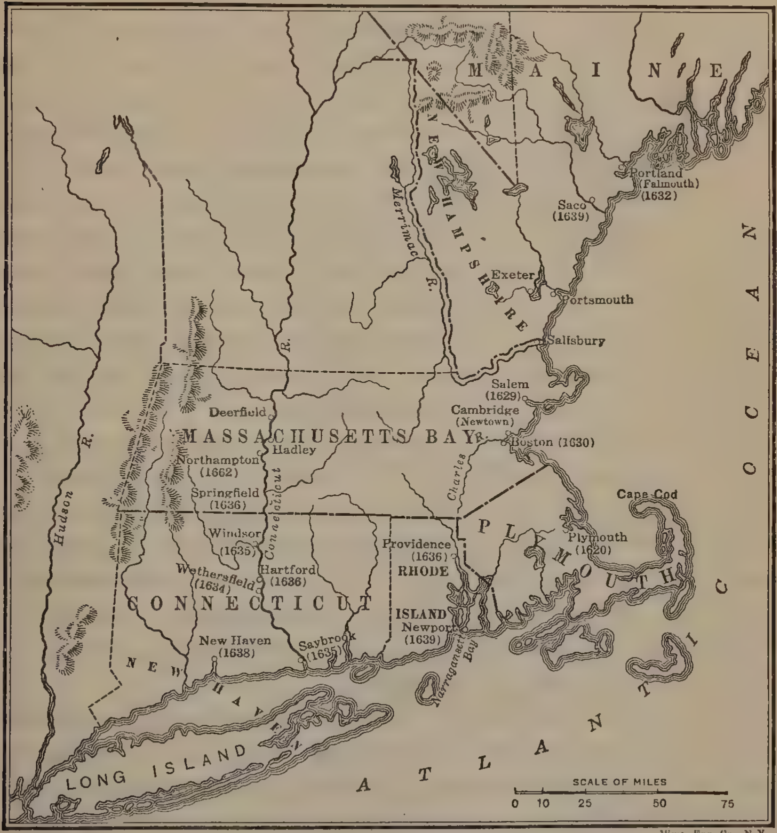
[1] The Pilgrims early made a treaty with Massasoit, the chief of a neighboring Indian tribe. Later other tribes gave them some trouble which might have proved serious, had it not been for the prompt action of Miles Standish, who had been placed in charge of the military affairs of the little colony.

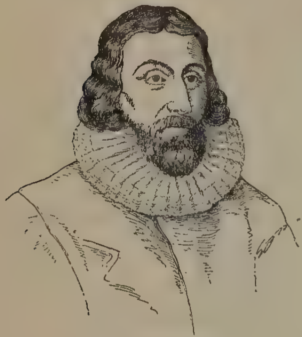


Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS

laborers and bond servants, and in 1630 came to Massachusetts — more than a thousand strong, in seventeen ships. Under the leadership of John Winthrop, a very rich and pious man, they planted settlements at Boston and other points around Massachusetts Bay.

The Character of the Puritan Settlers. — The leaders among the Puritans were, for their day, men of wealth and education. They were better equipped with ships, supplies, and tools than were the Pilgrims or the Virginians. Moreover, they had little trouble in getting free white emigrants for their settlements. Thousands of their countrymen were only too happy to escape the persecutions of the English king and the Established Church, and were prepared to work hard with their own hands to clear the forests and build homes for themselves and their children.



JOHN WINTHROP

It is true, many bond servants (p. 72) and a few thousand slaves were brought into New England; but the bulk of the population was composed of free farmers and their wives who had the courage to endure privations and the will to work hard for their livelihood. The few bond men brought into New England were employed as domestic servants in the homes of the well-to-do. The use of African slaves in the stony fields was not profitable.

Roger Williams and Rhode Island. — Although the Puritans had suffered much from persecution, they were unwilling to tolerate in their midst people who did not agree with them in religious matters. Any new sect that appeared in Massachusetts was badly treated and its members were driven out into the inland wildernesses.

In 1636 Roger Williams, who had been preaching at Salem doctrines which were displeasing to the Puritans, was banished from Massachusetts. With a little band of followers, he went south and laid out the town of Providence. Other settlements, including one at Rhode Island, soon followed. Seven years later, in 1643, the inhabitants of this new community were able to get from the English parliament a charter forming them into an independent colony, "Providence Plantations." Twenty years later, Charles II granted to Rhode Island and Providence a new charter which was kept as a constitution until 1843.

The Beginnings of Connecticut and New Hampshire. — About the same time other bands of dissenters, who did not approve the Puritan rule in Massachusetts or were searching for better land, set out for the Connecticut River valley, and there founded three towns, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Like the Pilgrim fathers in the *Mayflower*, the men, in 1639, drew up a plan of government and agreed to abide by it. Their most prominent leader was Thomas Hooker.

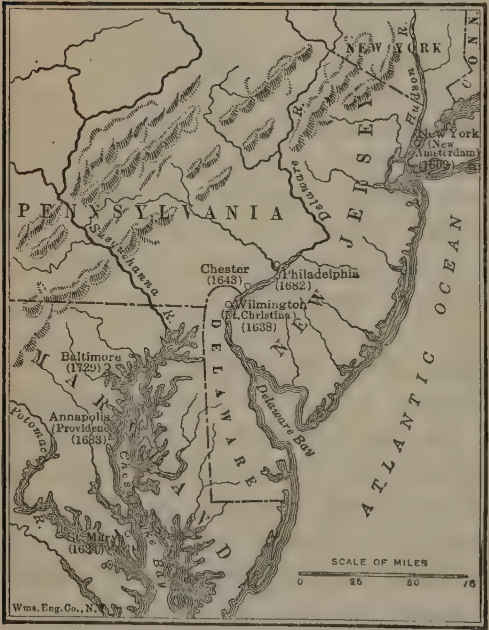
Another religious leader, John Davenport, with a congregation of faithful followers, after a short stay in Boston, grew dissatisfied with the Puritans and took the water route to the north shore of Long Island Sound, where he planted the colony of New Haven in 1638. In 1662 New Haven was joined to the other Connecticut towns by a royal charter, and all of them were welded into the colony of Connecticut.

Like Rhode Island and Connecticut, New Hampshire was an offshoot from Massachusetts. In 1679 it became a separate colony with a government of its own.

The New England Confederation. — In 1643 Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a union known as the "New England Confederation," but it lasted for only a short time. It was useful in defending the settlers against the Indians and it pointed the way to the final union of all the colonies.

VI. Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, the Carolinas, and Georgia

The Catholics in Maryland. — The king could give lands to one man or a few men, as well as to a company of men. In 1632 Charles I, who was kindly disposed towards Catholics, granted to a nobleman of that faith, Lord Baltimore, a large block of land north of the Potomac. In this region the colony of Maryland was founded.



Early Settlements in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware

It will be remembered that the Catholics as well as the Puritans had suffered persecution in England, and many of them were ready to settle in a new country where they could worship God in accord with the ancient faith of their fathers. They did not long enjoy their new freedom undisturbed. Protestants from New England and from Virginia, fearing a Catholic colony so near at hand, poured into Maryland in such force that they soon outnumbered the original settlers. The proprietor thereupon granted complete religious toleration for all who professed to believe in Jesus Christ. The colony of Maryland remained under the rule of the descendants of Lord Baltimore (except for a short time) until the eve of the American Revolution.

William Penn and the Quakers in Pennsylvania. — Half a century after Lord Baltimore's Maryland grant, Charles II gave a great domain west of the Delaware River to another proprietor, William Penn, a member of the Society of Friends. The Friends, like the Catholics and Puritans, had suffered persecution in England and, in fact, some of them had been hanged by the Puritans in Massachusetts on account of their religious opinions. The Quakers were therefore overjoyed at finding an escape from intolerance when Penn offered them cheap lands in the new territory of Pennsylvania, — Penn's Woods, as the king insisted upon naming it. The Quakers were very tolerant in their views and joined with the proprietor in welcoming Christians of all faiths to their colony. In addition to the Quakers, great numbers of Protestants from northern Ireland and, later, Protestants from Germany came to Pennsylvania.

Surveyors Laying Out Baltimore

The Quakers were shrewd merchants and traders as well as generous in their religious opinions, and they soon had a flourishing city, Philadelphia, built upon the banks of the Delaware. In order to secure a sea-coast line, Penn, in 1682, got possession of lands on the Delaware River and Bay which had been settled by Swedes in 1638. This new territory remained a part of Pennsylvania until 1703, when it was formed into a separate colony of Delaware, under the proprietorship of Penn. Pennsylvania and Delaware continued under the direction of the Penn family until the Revolution.[1]

From an old engraving

WILLIAM PENN

The Carolinas Also Settled under Proprietors. — Two English colonies in the South, North and South Carolina, were also founded under the management of proprietors. In 1663 King Charles II granted to eight noblemen a great domain south of Virginia, extending to the Spanish possessions of Florida. These proprietors sent out some colonists, and other settlers migrated into their territory from Virginia. Charleston was founded in 1680, and before many years it became a thriving seaport.

Though the settlements near Virginia and those farther to the south had little or nothing to do with each other, it was many years before the two regions were divided into separate colonies, North and South Carolina. The proprietors were always in trouble with the settlers over the payment of taxes and the sale of lands. In 1729 the two Carolinas were taken over by the king, the proprietors receiving a few years later a small payment of money for all their rights and claims. From 1729 until the Revolution, North and South Carolina remained royal provinces.

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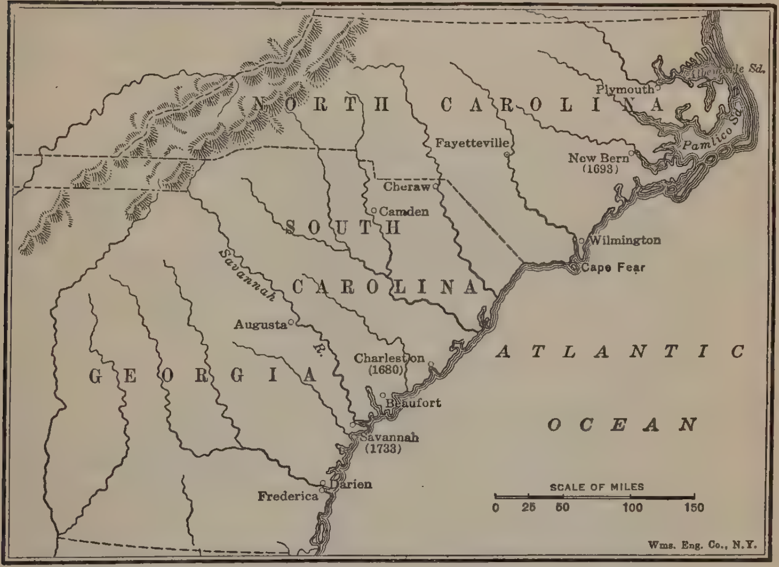
[1] The boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania was not clearly defined in the original charters granted to Lord Baltimore and William Penn. As the colonies became settled, difficulties arose as to the location of the boundary line. In 1767 two surveyors, Mason and Dixon, were employed to mark a boundary which has since been known as the "Mason and Dixon line." For many years this line was frequently spoken of as dividing the Northern from the Southern states.



Early Settlements in the Carolinas and Georgia

James Oglethorpe and the Settlement of Georgia (1732). — The last of the English colonies was founded far to the south in the Georgia wilderness. In England, at the time of the reign of George I, there dwelt a kind man, James Oglethorpe, who took a deep interest in the poor debtors huddled up in the English prisons, and was moved to find an opportunity for them in the New World. He organized a board of trustees and secured from the king, for a term of years, a grant of land to the south of the Savannah River. Charitable persons were induced to give money for the scheme, on the ground that it would help the poor, and business men were invited to invest because the enterprise promised to be profitable. Slavery and the sale of rum were forbidden in the new colony. Every effort was made by the trustees to build up prosperous settlements.

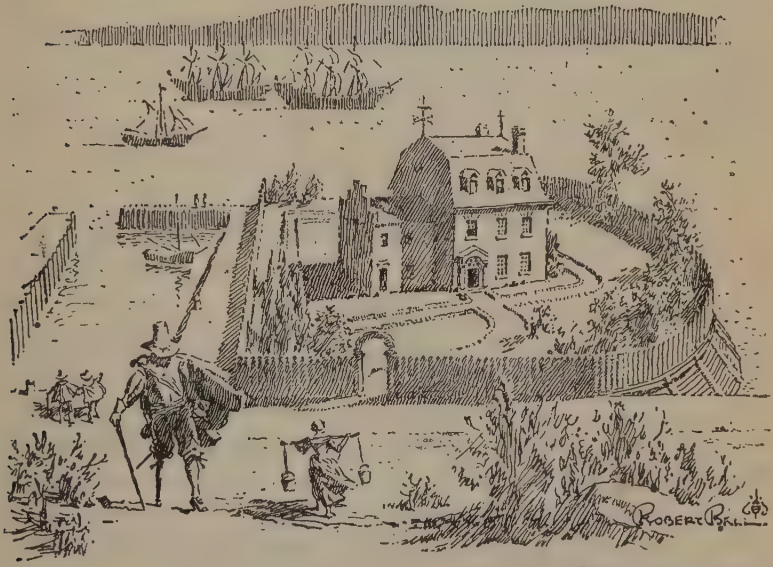
The prisoners who were transported did not, however, prove to be very good workmen. So it was found necessary to induce a different class of settlers to come into the colony. Owing to the scarcity of labor, the rule against slavery was abolished and large numbers of negroes were imported to till the plantations. At last, in 1752, the trustees gave up the experiment and turned Georgia over to the king, George II. From that time until the Revolution it remained a royal province.

TYPES OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO CAME OVER WITH OGLETHORPE

VII. NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

The Dutch Settle New Amsterdam (1623). — One of the most important colonies in America was not founded by Englishmen at all, but by the Dutch. These hardy people, although their independence from Spain was not formally recognized until 1648, had been able to develop trading and colonial enterprises of their own in the East Indies and in America. Under their direction, in 1609, Henry

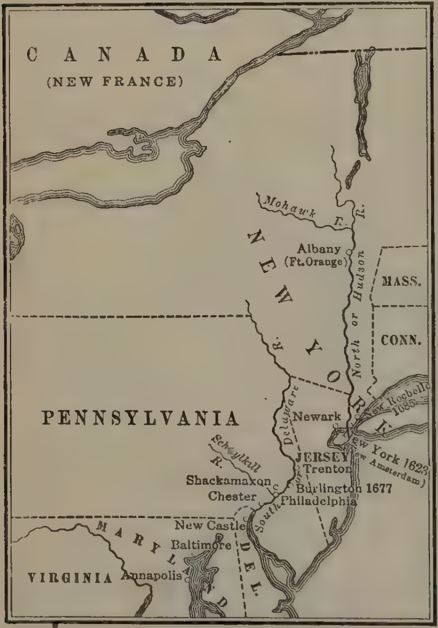
Hudson, an Englishman in command of a Dutch fleet, sailed far up the great river that now bears his name, in search of a northwest passage to the Far East where men were growing rich out of the spice trade. Although this quest ended in failure, the Dutch West India Company, a few years later (1623), planted the post of New Amsterdam on the Island of Manhattan.



From Valentine's Manual

THE HOME OF PETER STUYVESANT IN NEW AMSTERDAM

In order to induce wealthy men to undertake the upbuilding of this country — New Netherland — the Dutch company granted enormous estates to "patroons," or patrons, who would undertake to bring over parties of settlers. The patroons advanced the money to pay for the passage of the men and women, and for seeds and farming implements. The immigrants, in return, were bound very much like serfs to the estates of the patroons.



Early Settlements in New York and New Jersey

The English Capture the Dutch Colony. — The Dutch were able to hold their colony for a little more than fifty years. In 1664, during a war between England and Holland, a British fleet rode into the harbor and compelled the "leather-sided, lion-hearted old governor," General Peter Stuyvesant, to surrender New Amsterdam. King Charles gave New Netherland to his brother, the Duke of York, and the province then became "New York." Englishmen soon began to settle down in large numbers among the Dutch. After the king of France, Louis XIV, started his religious persecutions in 1685, many of his Protestant subjects, known as Huguenots, also came to the colony. They founded New Rochelle, naming it after their old home in France. Like the Dutch, they proved to be a wise and frugal people from whom sprang many persons eminent in American history. In 1685, when the Duke of York became King James II, his colony was made a royal province.

The Settlement of New Jersey. — The Dutch had also claimed the country across the Hudson River to the west and south. When they were overthrown by the English that region was granted to Sir George Carteret and Lord

Berkeley, the former assuming the office of governor. Inasmuch as he had once been governor of the Isle of Jersey in the English Channel, it was thought fitting to name the colony "New Jersey." Some time afterward it was sold to Quaker proprietors, and in 1702 it became a royal province. It was at first attached to New York, but several years later (1738) it was given a royal governor of its own.

One of the First Meeting Houses in the Colonies at Newark, N. J.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Why were the European soldiers not likely to make good settlers for the new lands in America? 2. In what ways did the Indians make settlement by Europeans difficult?

II. 1. Why did the religious changes in Europe lead people to settle in America? 2. Who were the Protestants? The Puritans? The Separatists? 3. What is meant by "intolerance" in religion?

III. 1. Why was the development of printing important in leading to the settlement of America, even though few people could read at that time? 2. How were the peasants treated in England at the time of Queen Elizabeth? What effect did this have upon emigration to America? 3. It is easy to see that the American gold, poured into Europe as a result of the Spanish conquests, would have led fortune-hunters and adventurers to America; but how did it influence real settlement and colonization?

IV. 1. When and where was the first permanent English settlement made in America? 2. How was this colony governed at the outset? 3. Why did the settlement come near to failure?

4. When and why were African slaves introduced? 5. Why did this settlement become a royal colony? What is meant by that term?

V. 1. Who were the Pilgrims, and why did they decide to settle in America? Locate Plymouth on the map and tell how they happened to choose this place for their home. 2. What was the Mayflower Compact? Why is it important in our history? 3. What other important colony was established in what is now Massachusetts? By whom? 4. Compare the settlers in New England with those in Virginia. 5. Who was Roger Williams? With what colony is his name connected? 6. Locate on the map the points at which Connecticut was first settled. Whence came the first settlers of Connecticut?

VI. 1. What is meant by the proprietary colonies? 2. Name the proprietors and the religious denominations that should be remembered in connection with the settlement of Maryland. In Pennsylvania. 3. State how Delaware and the two Carolinas came first to be settled. 4. How did the settlement of Georgia differ from that of the other colonies?

VII. 1. Why did the people of Holland establish a settlement in America? 2. When and how did they lose their colony? What became of it? 3. Why does New Jersey have the name that it now bears?

Review: 1. Make a list of the colonies in the order of their settlement; underline the names of the colonies that were settled by people who were seeking religious freedom; place a check (√) before those that were founded by companies, and a cross (X) before those that were founded by proprietors. 2. Copy the following names and place after each the colony with which the name is connected: — Lord Berkeley; Lord Baltimore; Sir George Carteret; John Smith; John Winthrop; William Penn; James Oglethorpe; Peter Stuyvesant.

Problems for Further Study

1. Find out from the dictionary the differences of meaning of the following words: *religion*, *denomination*, *sect*.

2. Why is a person who is paid for his labor in money generally more independent than one who is paid for his labor in food, clothing, and shelter?

3. The text says, "There was no way of inducing the Indian to adopt the white man's way of living." From a study of the life and habits of the Indians make a list of the most important differences between uncivilized and civilized peoples. Try to arrange the differences in the order of their importance.

For descriptions of Indian life, see Hart's "Colonial Children," pp. 91–130; Hart's "Source Book of American History," pp. 23–26; Eggleston's "Our First Century," pp. 207–209; Smith's "The Colonies," ch. xviii; Parkman's "Struggle for a Continent," pp. 460–472; 479–486.

4. Select one of the following topics for special study and report:

(*a*) The Jamestown settlement: See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book I, pp. 73–78; Tappan's "American Hero Stories," pp. 38–49; Eggleston's "Our First Century," chs. ii, iii, iv, v; Smith's "The Colonies," ch. i; Johnson's "Captain John Smith," chs. ix–xix.

(*b*) The Plymouth settlement: See Southworth, pp. 89–100; Tappan, pp. 59–72; Hart's "Colonial Children," pp. 133–136; Tiffany's "Pilgrims and Puritans," pp. 20–91; Eggleston, pp. 61–72; Brooks's "Stories of the Old Bay State," pp. 15–39.

(*c*) The New York settlement: See Southworth, pp. 130–141; Tappan, pp. 73–83; Eggleston, ch. x; Smith's "The Colonies," chs. vi, vii.

(*d*) Pennsylvania: See Southworth, pp. 187–196; Tappan, pp. 108–116; Smith, chs. xii, xiii; Eggleston, ch. xiv; Holland's "William Penn," chs. viii, ix, xii.

(*e*) The Carolinas: See Eggleston, ch. xiii; Smith, ch. v.

5. Reference is made in this chapter to the struggle of the Dutch people for independence in the sixteenth century. One of the great figures of world history was an important leader in this struggle. Find out who he was and what he did.

See Nida's "Dawn of American History in Europe," ch. xxvii.

CHAPTER IV

PEOPLING THE AMERICAN COLONIES

The history of the English colonies from the founding of Jamestown in 1607 to the eve of the American Revolution is, in the main, a story of the migration of thousands of settlers — men, women, and children — across the ocean, and of the westward movement of the people who pressed inland, clearing the forests and building homes, villages, and towns. Indian wars there were a-plenty, and many battles with the neighboring French and Spanish; but the chief business was the task of making the wilderness habitable and securing people to do the hard work.

People of the American Colonies — Cavalier, Puritan, Hollander, and Friend

Why the People Came. — If we try to find out why people came to this country, we discover that there were several reasons:

1. Many of the immigrants, of course, were adventurers and fortune seekers, hoping to find in America a way to get rich quickly.

2. Thousands came to seek a place where they could belong to any church they chose, and worship God according to their consciences.

3. Still others were sent away from Europe as undesirable citizens.

4. By far the greater portion came for other reasons: especially because they hoped to find business opportunities in America or to escape from poverty and wretchedness in their native land, and to make better homes for themselves and their children.

I. Important Causes of Immigration

1. Exaggerated Statements Made to Tempt Colonists. *Land-Owners Seek Labor.* — The companies, proprietors, and individuals who received land grants were anxious to secure settlers in order to increase the value of their property. Land without hands to labor on it was worth no more than mountains in the moon. In order to induce workers to go to the New World and settle, gorgeous pictures of easy life and riches in America were drawn by land agents. When William Penn secured his grant from Charles II, he advertised widely in England and Europe to attract immigrants to his newly acquired wilderness.

Moreover, wild stories about chains of gold, plates of silver, and ornaments cf precious stones were spread abroad among the people. As time went on, such absurd tales were discredited: but very alluring stories of the ease with which a few hundred acres could be secured and a home built, drew thousands of English, Dutch, and German peasants to the New World. Tracts, poems, booklets, and handbills were printed and widely circulated, explaining the wonderful opportunities in the colonies for those who wanted to escape serfdom and poverty in the Old World.

Stimulation of Emigration by Ship-Owners. — The owners of ships soon joined with the great land-owners in encouraging emigration to America. Each passenger was charged from three hundred to five hundred dollars for the trip, and the more passengers the more money for the shippers. They therefore established offices in various ports, and persuaded people to emigrate. Their agents displayed the products of the new country and asserted that plenty of good land could be had for the asking.

2. Desire for Religious Freedom. — There was perhaps less effort in New England to induce immigrants to come over than in the middle and southern colonies. The bulk of the population in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, on the eve of the Revolution was composed of the descendants of the twenty-five or thirty thousand Puritans who came to seek religious freedom, as well as opportunities to make a living.

The Puritans. — No other people were better fitted for the stern task of conquering the wilderness than were the Puritans. They disliked idleness and evil doing of every kind. They were all devoted to their church, attended its meetings regularly, and kept the Sabbath strictly. They thought "stage plays" were wicked. On Sunday many a boy was soundly thrashed by his Puritan father for whistling a merry tune when he should have been thinking of life, death, and eternity.

So zealous were they in their faith that they would not permit any one who was not a member of their church to vote or take part in government. They established schools where children had to learn to read the Bible and the catechism, and colleges for the education of ministers, lawyers, and "gentlemen."

The Puritans had a deep influence on the thinking and the literature of America. Strains of Puritanism run through all our politics and poetry. In the eighteenth century New England furnished many leaders in the Revolution: men like James Otis, one of the first to lift his voice against the arbitrary deeds of the British Government; Samuel Adams, whose courage heartened his countrymen in their resistance to royal authority; and John Hancock, who signed the Declaration of Independence with such a clear hand that even King George could read it. In the early nineteenth century New England gave the country many poets, Whittier, Longfellow, Bryant; historians, Bancroft, Parkman, and Prescott; and champions of freedom for the slaves, Garrison, Phillips, and Sumner.

From a painting by Boughton

PILGRIMS GOING TO CHURCH

They were all devoted to their church, attended its meetings regularly, and kept the Sabbath strictly.

Quakers, Dunkards, and Other Sects. — Outside of New England the religious influences in colonization were less marked but still very powerful. At New Rochelle, in New York, there was a settlement of French Huguenots. In New Jersey, the Presbyterians were numerous. In Delaware and Pennsylvania, Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkards, Moravians, and Lutherans dwelt side by side in prosperous settlements.

The first of these, the Quakers, or the Friends, though by no means as numerous as the Puritans, proved to be a great force in American life. While strict in their habits, frugal, and stern, they were, for their time, very tolerant in religious matters. They early admitted members of other churches to a voice in the government of Pennsylvania and invited all peoples to come who were "peaceably disposed."

Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland. — Another very important religious element was composed of the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish. Many Scotch came directly from Scotland to the New World, particularly in the eighteenth century, but most of them came by the way of Ireland. Thousands of Scotch and English settled in northern Ireland in the seventeenth century after the English general, Cromwell, and his soldiers drove masses of the Irish from their native soil.

They flourished in Ireland for a time, but after a while the English parliament began to make laws which injured their woolen industry; and they got into religious difficulties with the Church of England as well. They then set out for America in great numbers. Often an entire village or congregation, pastor and all, would migrate. It is estimated that at least 200,000 came in colonial times, and that when the Revolution broke out one sixth of the population was composed of the Scotch-Irish. They settled largely in the western regions of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and were counted a hardy and dogged race, equally zealous at praying, working, and fighting.

The Catholics in Maryland. — Though surrounded on all sides by Protestants, the Catholics of Maryland increased in numbers and prosperity. By wise toleration of other religious sects, they pointed the way to religious freedom.

Puritan Rule in England Causes Many Royalists to Emigrate. — By a curious turn of fortune, a large number of Englishmen who had been persecuting the Puritans or had been of the party of persecution, were also driven to settle in America. The Puritans, in a famous revolution, overthrew the monarchy, beheaded King Charles I in 1649, and set up their own government under Cromwell. At this time, many of the royalists, "Cavaliers," as they were styled, left England for Virginia because they hated Cromwell's rule. They were loyal to the king and to the Church of England, the official church in Virginia.

II. POVERTY A CAUSE OF IMMIGRATION; INVOLUNTARY COLONIZATION

3. **Poverty.** — It would be a mistake to assume that the members of the various religious sects were all prosperous in the Old Country and came to America merely to gain freedom of worship. On the contrary, most of them were poverty stricken and had to struggle hard to gain a foothold in the New Country.

Taking the immigrants all in all, it would doubtless be safe to say that two thirds of them did not come to America because they were discontented with the churches or governments of Europe, but because they sought to escape grinding poverty or were sent here against their will. Sometimes those who came on account of religious scruples were inclined to look down upon the others as less worthy; but who can say that it was any less honorable to come to America to find better homes and freer life than to escape religious persecution?

4. **Involuntary Colonization**: *Slaves and Criminals.* — Those who were brought here against their will were very numerous indeed. There were, of course, the negroes taken from Africa and sold as slaves. In addition to these, Europe sent to America thousands of men and women charged with crimes, in order to get rid of them.

Probably most of them were the hapless victims of cruel laws and benighted judges. It was a common thing, in the eighteenth century, for a peasant to be hanged for shooting a rabbit on his landlord's estate, or for filching some trifle, or for an educated person to be transported for life for criticizing the king. Doubtless many such "criminals" who were sent over proved to be as good citizens as some who came for their consciences' sake.

Impressment of Immigrants. — Among those who came against their will were numbers of men and women, boys and girls, kidnapped in the streets of the cities or sold by merciless relatives. It was estimated that no fewer than ten thousand were carried off in one year from England alone. Shiploads of artisans, weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other skilled workingmen were taken in this manner, and thousands of poor girls were dragged to America to be sold as wives to colonists or as household drudges. It was openly said in the English parliament that the plantations could not be maintained "without a considerable number of white servants."

The Bond Servants. — By far the largest single class of white people who settled in the English colonies in America — larger perhaps than all the free Puritans and Cavaliers combined — was composed of "white servants," bound to labor for their masters for a term of years to pay for their passage across the ocean. Bond servants differed from slaves principally in the fact that their term of service was from three or four to seven or ten years, as the case might be, instead of for life. Women were generally sold at the same price as men, and commonly worked barefooted in the fields with men. Many people who were ground down by poverty in Europe were glad to sell them-

People were kidnapped in the streets of cities and sent to the New World.

selves for a few years, in order to have a chance to get a fresh start in a new land.

White bondage was common throughout the colonial period and well into the nineteenth century; in fact, until the "free labor" supply became sufficiently large to meet the growing demand for men and women on the farms and in the shops.

The system began with the foundation of the colonies. The well-to-do Puritans who settled Boston and the surrounding regions brought many bond servants. White servitude was very extensive in Virginia in the early years of that colony and for a long time rivaled negro slavery as the source of labor supply. Slavery won at last, for slaves were easier to get and less troublesome than white servants, and besides they were bound for life instead of for a few years. Pioneer settlers in the Carolinas, Maryland, and New Jersey also brought large numbers of servants with them. In some cases as many as sixty would be found under a single master.

William Penn, to stimulate the settlement of Pennsylvania, offered special advantages to those immigrants who would bring one or more bond servants with them. As the Quakers disliked negro slavery, white servitude seemed to offer a way out of the difficulty of securing "hands." It is estimated that two thirds of the immigrants into this colony between the years 1707 and 1784 — especially the German settlers — were bond servants. The newspapers at the time were full of advertisements like this, taken from a Philadelphia paper of 1728: "Lately imported and to be sold cheap, a parcel of likely men and women servants."

Hardships of the Bond Servants. — Like the negro slaves, the bond servants were crowded into the ships that brought them over. Each captain's profits depended upon the number he could herd between decks. England wished to see the colonies settled rapidly and the colonists were anxious for laborers. So the overcrowded conditions on ships were nothing short of dreadful. It was a common thing for the immigrant to have to supply himself with food on the voyage; if there were long delays due to calms or storms, many died of starvation and lack of water.

The lot of the servant on landing depended upon his good fortune in finding a master. Some found good masters and were generously treated; others were beaten and overworked.

Cruel as the system was in many ways, it gave to tens of thousands of poor people in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Europe the opportunity to reach America. After the expiration of their terms, large numbers of bond servants settled on lands of their own and took their places among the free citizens.

Colonial America a "Melting Pot" of the Races. — Some one has called America of the twentieth century the "melting pot," in which all the races of the earth and all sorts and conditions of people are welded together in one nation. Although the immigrants during the colonial period were mainly from the British Islands, America was even then a melting pot. Nearly all religious sects were represented, and with the English, Irish, and Scotch were mingled Dutch, French, Swedes, and Germans. The majority of those who came brought no riches with them — only stout hearts and willingness to labor wherever they could find an opportunity.

Some writers have sought to hide the humble origin of so many American citizens, as if ashamed to tell the truth. Rather should we regard it as a marvelous testimony to the dignity and worth of human nature that out of so many who came to America poor and lowly, a great nation of self-governing people could be built up.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. Why were companies, proprietors, and ship-owners tempted to exaggerate the opportunities of settlers in the New World? 2. In what colonies were the settlers most largely made up of those who had left Europe to seek religious freedom? 3. Many people have thought that most of the early immigrants came to America for this purpose. Can you explain why they have held this opinion?

II. 1. What is meant by the term involuntary colonization? 2. What different kinds of people were brought to America against their wills? 3. What is the meaning of the term bond servant? How did bond service differ from slavery? 4. What advantages did the system of bond service offer to poor people who wished to escape the poverty of the Old World? What were its disadvantages and dangers?

Review: State the important differences among the following types of immigrants to the colonies: Puritans; Cavaliers; Bond Servants.

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Imagine yourself a passenger on a ship from England to America in early colonial times. Tell about the length of the voyage, what you would have had to eat, the characteristics of your fellow-passengers, the dangers and discomforts of the trip.

See Hart's "Colonial Children," pp. 25–28, 34–35, 52–53.

2. Oliver Cromwell is mentioned in this chapter as the leader of the Puritans in the English Revolution. Find out the main facts about this revolution. Why did Cromwell's part in the revolution make him one of the great men of English history?

See Warren's "Stories from English History," pp. 258–291; Tappan's "England's Story," pp. 235–251.

CHAPTER V

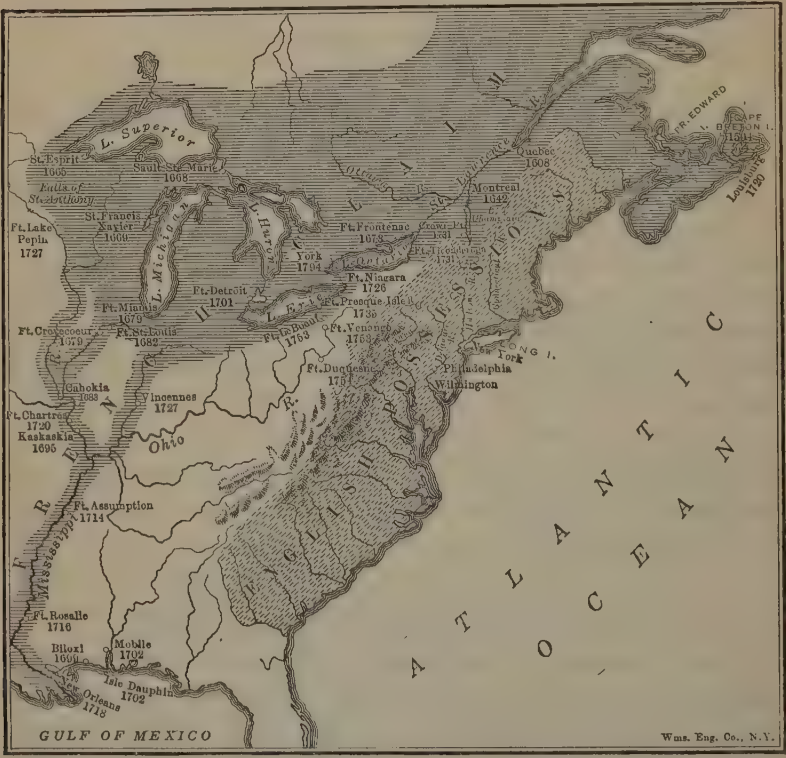
THE STRUGGLE AMONG THE POWERS OF EUROPE FOR NORTH AMERICA

The two preceding chapters have dealt principally with the English colonies in America, but it must not be thought that other European countries were all this time unmindful of the advantages which the New World offered. In enterprise for exploration the French were not a whit behind the English, and only the lack of settlers prevented them from making New France as strong as New England. The Spanish were all the while busy in the Southwest converting Indians and making settlements. And long before the American revolution the Russians had obtained a foothold in the Northwest.

I. French Explorations and Settlements

French sailors from the coasts of Brittany and Normandy were as hardy and daring as their rivals across the channel. Long before the foundation of the first English colony, there were a hundred or more French fishing vessels off the coast of Newfoundland every year. French explorers early began a search for lake and river routes to the western ocean. As we have seen, one year after the foundation of Jamestown and twelve years before the landing of the Pilgrims, the French under Champlain had established a post far up the St. Lawrence River, at Quebec. In 1642, just a little while after the outposts of Connecticut were planted, the French established Montreal farther up the St. Lawrence.

The French Explore the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. — From these points of vantage in the St. Lawrence Valley, the French pressed inland, seeking first a way to China, and then turning to the exploration of the vast interior. The early voyagers were so certain of finding Chinese in the distant inland regions that they took special goods to trade with the Orientals and special costumes to wear on being received by them. They explored the regions of



French Explorations and Trading Posts

the Great Lakes; they planted a cross at Sault Sainte Marie; and in 1673 two of the most famous explorers, Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and Joliet, reached the waters of the upper Mississippi. These adventurous men and a few companions drifted down the Mississippi past the present site of St. Louis and far beyond, until they came near enough to the outlet to satisfy themselves that the great river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico somewhere "west of the Cape of Florida and east of the California Sea."

From an old print

A MISSIONARY TRAVELING IN THE WILDERNESS

La Salle's Work in the Mississippi Valley. — Nine years after Marquette and Joliet made their memorable voyage down the Mississippi and returned overland, another explorer, La Salle, went all the way down the Illinois River and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. He took possession of the fertile valleys far and wide, in the name of the French king, Louis XIV, and in his honor called the land "Louisiana." One of La Salle's officers sent back a report of this region as follows:

> In the rich bottom lands were corn fields and smiling meadows, mulberry trees and grape vines, and a great variety of fruits grew wild in the woodlands; magnificent pine forests offered an inexhaustible supply of naval stores, while lead deposits that would yield two parts of ore to one of refuse only waited the miner's pick. Beaver were rare, but buffalo, bear, wolves and deer

abounded. The trade in peltry alone could be made to yield 20,000 ecus[1] per year. When the Indians are trained to tend silk worms, that industry alone would furnish a valuable article of trade.

A few years after his famous journey down the Mississippi, La Salle brought over an expedition for the purpose of settling at the mouth of the river. Owing to a miscalculation, he missed the outlet and drifted westward to the shores of Texas, where he was murdered by his discouraged companions.

In 1718 the governor of Louisiana, Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, founded a settlement at New Orleans.

The French Found New Orleans (1718) and St. Louis.— Undismayed by the disaster which befell La Salle, another French soldier, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville, with an armed force, set out from France in 1698 and started a colony at Biloxi on the Gulf. Twenty years later, in 1718, the governor of Louisiana, Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, founded a settlement at New Orleans.

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[1] About $200,000 in money at present value.

After difficult beginnings, the French colonies began to grow rapidly, and under Bienville, the settlement at New Orleans flourished, until it became a town of no mean order as compared with other colonial ports. Traces of bygone days are to be found everywhere in New Orleans still. The French quarter with its narrow streets, the old cemeteries built above ground because water would flow into the shallowest grave dug in the soil, the French names of the streets, the French newspapers, and the "creoles," or inhabitants of French descent, all bear testimony to the work of the pioneers who labored with such zeal in the early eighteenth century to lay broad and deep the foundations of a greater France in America.

From the base at New Orleans, the French began to work upward along the Mississippi to meet their fellow countrymen who were building posts on their way downward from the north. Catholic missionaries, as heroic and self-forgetful as any preachers of the gospel the world had ever seen, penetrated the wilderness in every direction, and French hunters planted post after post around the Great Lakes and at other carefully chosen points in the Northwest territory. In 1762 a company of French merchants was granted a monopoly of the trade with the Indians on the Missouri River, and two years later they founded St. Louis, building on its present site a house and four stores. At this post rich stocks of furs were collected from all points west and north for shipment down the river and to Europe.

II. Differences between English and French Policies of Colonization

Policies of the French Government. — Claiming territory and holding it by actual settlement were, however, totally different things. In the management of its American colonies the French government followed certain policies which did not help to build up populous dominions.

1. The French king, who was a Catholic, would not tolerate any Protestants at all in France after 1685, and yet he would not let them go over to build up his colonies in America. They were thus compelled to suffer persecution at home, to become Catholics, or to flee to England or Prussia or the English settlements in America.

2. The colonization of New France was carried out under the strict control of the government. The French king furnished a great deal of money for the expeditions and did not rely very much upon his enterprising subjects.

3. The Frenchmen who did emigrate to the New World were not allowed to manage their own affairs. They were compelled in all things to obey the officers sent out by the king and to observe his laws.

4. Even if the government of the French colonies had been more generous, it would have been difficult to find enough men and women to people the wilderness at that time; because, almost from his accession to the throne in 1643 until his death in 1715, Louis XIV was engaged in costly and bloody wars on the continent, trying to gain more lands for himself and his family. Many thousands of hardy French peasants who might have built a greater France beyond the seas were killed in battle in Spain, Germany, Holland, and France.

Policies of the English Government. *Greater Independence in Matters of Government.*—England was full of turmoil as a result of the conflict between the king and Parliament, which lasted from 1629 (the date of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony) until the restoration of Charles II in 1660. With so much trouble at home, the English rulers had little time to look abroad for more. The English colonies were therefore subject to slight interference from the home government. In every colony there was speedily set up a little parliament or legislature to make laws for the community. Although by no means all the adult white males were allowed to vote for members of the legislature, at least some of the people were admitted to a share in their own government. In two colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and during early times in Massachusetts, the voters chose even their own governors as well as their legislatures.

When, however, Charles II came to the throne in 1660, the English government began a policy very much like that pursued by the French king with reference to his dominions. Parliament made severe laws designed to control the trade and navigation of the colonies. In 1686 a stern governor, Sir Edmund Andros, was sent over with instructions to issue orders and collect taxes in several northern colonies without the consent of the voters. The charter granted to Massachusetts in 1629 was taken away and all New England was governed in a high-handed manner.

It looked as if more trouble was coming in 1685 when James II, who was a Catholic and out of sympathy with the Protestant colonies, came to the throne; but he was soon driven out of England by his subjects in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. In 1691 Massachusetts received a new charter, which restored the rights that Andros had taken away except that of electing the governor, who was henceforth to be chosen by the king. The colonists soon drove Andros out and a new period of freedom from interference by the British government opened.

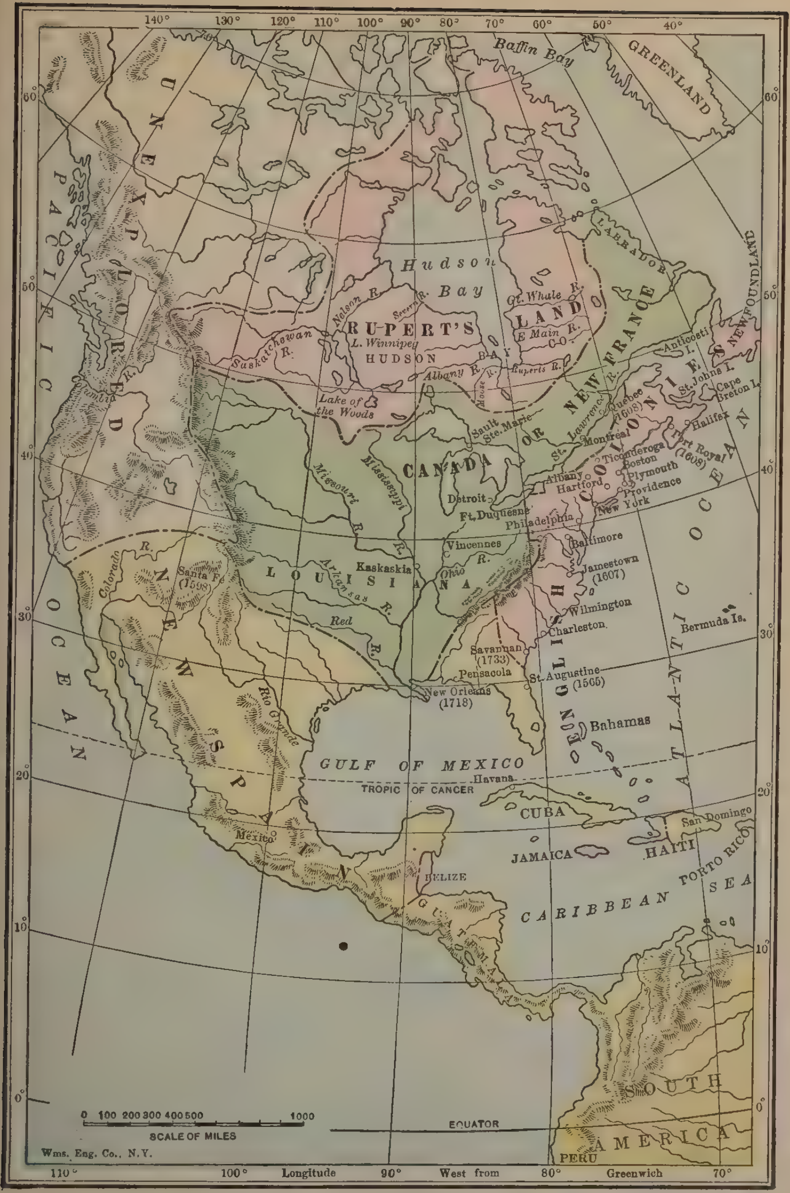
The English Colonists Were More Tolerant in Religious Matters. — The fact that companies and private persons (proprietors) had so large a share in settling the American colonies helped to increase both religious toleration and the rate of immigration. A man or a company interested in making a large profit from the sale of lands was more likely to inquire whether a settler was a good honest laborer than whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant.

Comparative Strength of English and French. — For all these reasons, at the end of one hundred fifty years of exploration and settlement the French in the New World numbered fewer than one hundred thousand, while the English numbered considerably more than a million. At home, however, France had three times the population and wealth of England and she had great strength on the sea.

Although the French were few in number in America they had certain advantages over the English colonists. They were strongly fortified at Quebec and several other points, so that numbers alone did not count for everything. They had also made allies of many Indian tribes who promised to fight on their side. Finally, they were accustomed to obeying royal officers without question and did not suffer from intercolonial jealousies.

III. The Struggle between French and English

The Earlier Intercolonial Wars. — It was apparent for a long time that a final contest between England and France for world empire was bound to come. Two wars, King William's (1689–97) and Queen Anne's (1701–13), had failed to bring a final settlement. In 1716 the English began to be disturbed about French doings in the Ohio region. In that year the governor of Virginia wrote home to his king that if the French should succeed in connecting their posts in Canada with the colony of Louisiana "they might even possess themselves of any of these plantations they pleased." Thirty years later, King George's War (1744–48) failed to make the great decision. The only important permanent



ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND SPANISH POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA, 1750

result of these three conflicts was the capture of Port Royal and Acadia by the English in Queen Anne's War. Acadia was renamed Nova Scotia and the town became Annapolis.

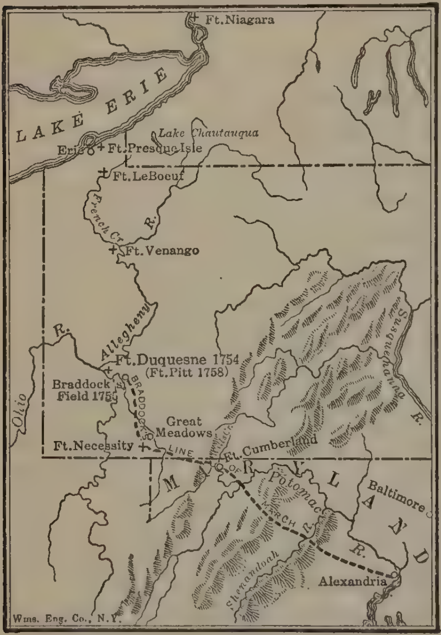
The French and Indian War in America (1754–1763). *Washington's Expedition to the West.* — The English saw that they would have to throw more energy into the struggle if they expected to become masters of the Ohio and St. Lawrence valleys. Under the guidance of able statesmen at home, the French were steadily building forts and posts for the purpose of holding the territory. They were fully aware that the greater France was at stake in the coming struggle. All this served only to stimulate to more determined action the English empire builders, who saw clearly the value of "the wildernesses of the dark country."

In 1749, the year after the close of King George's War, some London merchants and enterprising Virginians organized the "Ohio Company" with a view to holding and settling the regions beyond the Alleghanies. Thereupon the French decided to keep as their own, by force of arms if necessary, all the Ohio Valley. Hearing of the advancing French, the governor of Virginia, in 1754, sent forward a little army under the command of a young officer — George Washington — with instructions to complete and defend a post called Fort Duquesne on the site of the present city of Pittsburgh.

When Washington arrived he found the French well entrenched. The Virginia army was soon compelled to fall back to Fort Necessity at Great Meadows, and then to surrender to superior forces.

Braddock's Defeat (1755). — The final war with France over North America thus opened with bad luck for the English, and the following year a still graver disaster overtook them. In 1755 a strong force of regular British troops was sent over from Great Britain under the command of

General Braddock. These troops, accompanied by Washington and a few Virginia soldiers, set out to capture Fort Duquesne. Despite the warnings of Washington, who knew how the French and Indians fought from behind trees and rocks, picking the enemy off one by one, Braddock marched into the wilderness with drums beating and banners flying. The error was fatal. The enemy ambushed his soldiers and almost destroyed the army. Braddock was mortally wounded. As he was being borne off the field, he was heard to mutter "Who would have thought it" and "We shall know better how to deal with them next time." Nothing but the brave and skillful management of Washington saved the retreating soldiers from total destruction. It was reported to the British government that Washington behaved on that occasion "as bravely as if he really loved the whistling of bullets."



Fort Duquesne and Vicinity

The Seven Years' War (1756–63).—The following year the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe and soon encircled the globe. England and Prussia struggled for supremacy against France, Austria, and Spain. Far in the East, the English and the French waged war for the possession of India; and in North America the two rival powers began the last act in the dramatic contest for Canada and the Mississippi Valley. Fortunately for England the king's chief minister, William Pitt, was a far-seeing statesman. He had dreams of a world-wide British empire and knew that it could be won only by men, money, and ships. Instead of relying mainly upon the English colonists in America to dispose of the French in that quarter, he dispatched from England a large army of regular soldiers with orders to capture all the French strongholds. With some aid from the Americans, Pitt was able to accomplish his grand design. In a little while, "the wind, from whatever quarter it blew, carried to England the tidings of battles won, fortresses taken, provinces added to the empire."

Wolfe Captures Quebec. — On the North American continent, the most famous of the victories was the capture of Quebec. One dark night in September, 1759, the English commander, Wolfe, with a strong force of picked men, slipped along the water's edge in small boats until he found a good landing place under the heights of the French city. In single file the men silently crept up the steep banks to the plains before Quebec. In the morning the French general, Montcalm, whom Wolfe had described in a letter to his mother as "a wary old fellow," was astounded to see British soldiers marching in full array upon him. His men accepted battle with courage, but by nightfall they were utterly routed, and their leader lay mortally wounded.

When told by his surgeons that death was only a few hours away, Montcalm replied that he was glad of it, adding, "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." There was a sadness also in the English victory, for their commander, too, was mortally hurt. Hearing that the French were running from the field of battle, Wolfe gave final orders to cut off their retreat and then turned on his side, saying, "Now, God be praised! I shall die in peace." Other men took up the work which Wolfe had so skillfully begun. The following year Montreal fell before English forces. The fate of Canada was sealed. New France was a part of the British Empire.

From a print of the time.

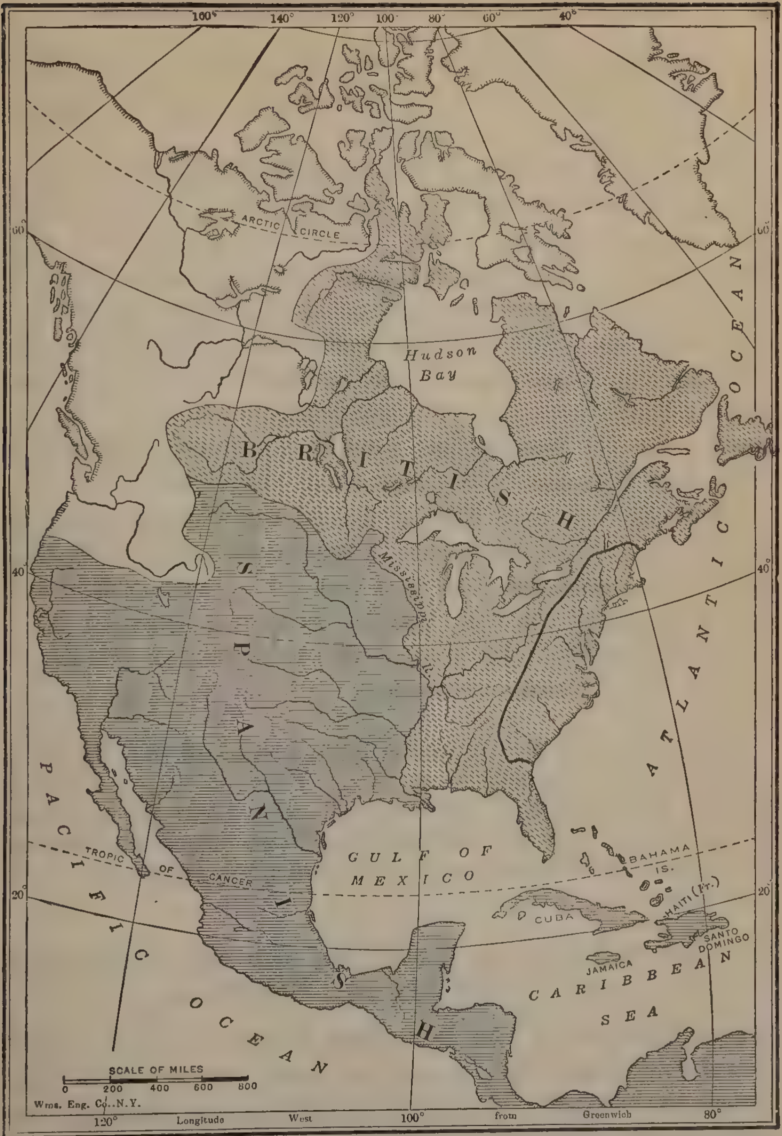
In the morning the French General was astounded to see British soldiers marching in full array on the Plains of Abraham

The Treaty of Paris; Results of the War. — Peace was at length reached in Europe. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris, 1763, momentous changes were made in the fate of North America. Briefly the terms were:

1. England wrested from France all of Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi except a small region around New Orleans, leaving her only two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland where her fishermen could dry their fish.

2. England took from Spain the territory of Florida.

3. For the loss of this province, Spain received some



European Possessions in America, 1763, with British Possessions before that Date Indicated consolation, because France granted her all that was left of the vast Louisiana territory. In a little while the Spanish flag was flying over New Orleans.

Effects of the Treaty of Paris on the English Colonies. — For the English colonies in America, the Treaty of Paris was full of meaning. The control of the French king being broken, religious toleration could be established in Canada and the country opened up to Protestant settlers and explorers. The alliances between the French and the Indians being at an end, the latter were more careful about raiding English settlements on the western frontier. It became safer for the English pioneers from the seaboard to push over into the fertile regions of the Ohio.

Thus the Treaty of Paris prepared the way for the rapid growth of the English-speaking people on the continent of North America; but this was not all. There was a still deeper meaning in the treaty. This was grasped by a wise Frenchman, Vergennes, who, on hearing of the downfall of New France, exclaimed:

> England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They no longer stand in need of her protection; she will call upon them to contribute towards supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence.

IV. THE SPANIARDS IN LOUISIANA AND THE SOUTHWEST; THE RUSSIANS IN THE NORTHWEST

Spanish Rule in the Louisiana Territory. — The Seven Years' War decided the fate of all North America east of the Mississippi River. The future of the western Louisiana territory and of the southern and western regions now occupied by Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and the Pacific states, was yet unsettled. Nominally most of that country belonged to Spain in 1763, but Spain did little to occupy it. Spanish officers took the place of the French officers in the Louisiana trading posts and the seat of government was fixed at Mexico City. New Orleans was connected by a canal with Lake Pontchartrain; the streets of the city were drained, watchmen were installed; and the cultivation of sugar cane in the surrounding country was revived. Yet the population remained almost stationary.

St. Louis alone grew, slowly, under Spanish rule. Many French from the Illinois country went across the Mississippi River when the English took possession of their former territory. Some of these pioneers carried on a considerable fur trade; others worked the lead mines of Missouri; but most of them settled down to till the fertile fields. The Spanish officers, knowing that there were no more Mexicos and Perus to conquer in the Southwest, became reconciled to a humdrum life in the forts along the Mississippi.

Spanish Priests and Settlers in the Southwest. — Spanish soldiers also found little that interested them in the great regions now embraced in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and California; but the Spanish priests found religious work to do. At a time much earlier than this, they had seen an opportunity to bring thousands of heathen Indians to the Christian faith. So they had journeyed in every direction, preaching the gospel and building missions in the wildernesses. By 1630 the Spanish priests had built ninety churches and baptized 86,000 Indians in the far Southwest. When they established a mission they usually brought soldiers to defend it and compelled the converted Indians to do the rough work in the fields. The Spaniards, who were familiar with irrigation and crops, showed the Indians how to improve their farms. They also taught the natives how to paint frescoes and to do wrought work in silver and iron.

Why the Spaniards Failed to Colonize the Southwest Successfully. — The Spaniards who followed in the wake of the priests were not industrial workers, farmers, carpenters, and artisans. They were the descendants of the men who had despoiled Mexico and Peru of their treasures and they had no bent for hard or steady labor. These pleasure-loving, idle soldiers became owners of vast stretches of land which they had no inclination to till or develop.

PALACE OF THE SPANISH GOVERNOR AT SANTA FÉ

Some of the Spanish governors sought to build up populous colonies. They knew that a few soldiers and priests could not create a nation; but there were grave obstacles in the way of settling this vast domain. The region was too distant from the mother country, and there were no religious disputes in Spain such as drove the Puritans from England and the Protestants from France. Moreover, though there was much fertile land in California and Texas, a great deal of the Southwest was desert or mountainous waste. The Colorado desert, the arid plateaus of New

Mexico and Arizona, the dry regions of Texas, were not inviting to Spanish grandees or Spanish peasants. They preferred to stay at home.

Weakness of the Spanish Settlements. — By the year 1800 there were only about 18,000 white settlers in the former Spanish regions which are now included within the borders of the United States. Santa Fé, New Mexico, founded in 1605; San Antonio, Texas, in 1718; San Diego, California, in 1769; and San Francisco, in 1776, were petty villages. At many other points from the Gulf of Mexico north and west to the Pacific, there were Spanish missions and trading posts. Some Spanish trading ships occasionally skirted along the shores of California, bringing supplies to the missions and carrying away in exchange flour, silver, furs, and other products gathered by the settlers and the Indians.

The Russians in the Northwest. — Although it seemed far away from the rest of the world in the eighteenth century, the Spaniards were not alone in their interest in the Pacific coast. The Russians came along very early. Exploring expeditions were sent out by Peter the Great, who had heard the Europeans talk about the New World. As the result of a voyage made in 1728, Vitus Bering, a Dane in the employ of Peter, gave his name to the straits separating North America and Asia.

Russian fur traders were active all through the eighteenth century and, in addition to cruising along the Pacific coast, they penetrated inland a considerable distance. The otter herds of the North Pacific became almost as valuable to the Russians as the gold mines of Mexico and Peru were to the Spaniards. They built a fort at Sitka, Alaska. Being unable to grow grain there, they insisted on getting provisions from the Spanish settlements in California, although it was against the law of Spain. When the news of the Russian operations reached the British, they, too, began to venture into the Pacific regions, looking for a share of the fur trade which was making great fortunes. So it happened that even before the American Revolution, enterprising people were beginning to think about contesting with Spain for the possession of the Far West. It was a long time, however, before the Pacific coast was destined to come under the rule of the English-speaking people, and it was not until 1867 that Alaska was purchased from Russia by the United States.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. On a large map of North America (a relief-map, if one is available) locate the principal English settlements and the early French posts and settlements. 2. Trace on the map the route that the French explorers would take to reach the interior of the continent. 3. When the French explorers reached the Great Lakes in their canoes, what routes could they take to get to the Mississippi? 4. Look now for the routes that explorers from the English settlements would have had to follow to reach the Mississippi Valley. Contrast the difficulties of these routes with the difficulties of the French route.

II. 1. What conditions in Europe combined with the geography of the regions settled in America to make the French and English colonies quite different? What reasons led to the fact that the English colonists were more independent of the mother country than were the French colonists?

III. 1. Name the four intercolonial wars in their order. Counting the four wars and the intervening years as marking a long struggle for supremacy in America, how many years did this struggle cover? 2. How old was Washington when he first gained prominence in the French and Indian War? 3. What war in Europe was going on during the French and Indian War in America? What part did Spain take in it? 4. Why was the present site of Pittsburgh an important point in the struggle of France and England for supremacy in America? 5. State the principal provisions of the Treaty of Paris.

IV. 1. State the reasons for the lack of success in the Spanish government of the region now comprising California and the southwestern states of the American union. How far did Spain progress in her period of ownership? 2. What led the Russians to establish settlements in the region now known as Alaska?

Review: With what important events or achievements is each of the following names to be associated:

Marquette
La Salle
D'Iberville
Andros
Washington
Braddock
Wolfe
Montcalm

Problems for Further Study

1. Champlain has been called the "Father of New France." Find out what he did to merit this title.

See McMurry's "Pioneers on Land and Sea," ch. i; Tappan's "American Hero Stories," pp. 49–58; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 14–17; Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," pp. 153–160; Baldwin's "Discovery of the Old Northwest," pp. 22–34; Parkman's "Struggle for a Continent," pp. 83–124.

2. Imagine yourself an explorer with either Marquette or La Salle. Be ready to give the class an interesting account of your explorations or of some important part of them and to trace the journeys on a map.

See McMurry's "Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley," chs. i, ii; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 96–98; Baldwin's "The Discovery of the Old Northwest," pp. 131–180; Parkman's "Struggle for a Continent," pp. 186–222; Hasbrouck's "La Salle."

3. Several French posts and settlements about the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley were important during the intercolonial wars and afterward. Locate the following and tell why, from its position, each would be likely to be important: Detroit, Mackinac Island, Vincennes (in what is now Indiana), Fort Kaskaskia (now Utica, near La Salle, Illinois).

4. Tell the story of Braddock's defeat and the story of the capture of Quebec.

See Hart's "Source Book," pp. 103–107; Hart's "Camps and Firesides of the Revolution," pp. 138–141; 146–150; Tappan's "American Hero Stories," pp. 117–135; Parkman's "Struggle for a Continent," pp. 382–450.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE PERIODS OF EXPLORATION, SETTLEMENT, AND COLONIZATION (CHAPTERS I, II, III, IV, V)

I. The Old-World background.

  A. Our debt to the Old World.
  B. Conditions in Europe in the fifteenth century.
    1. Differences between eastern and western Europe.
    2. Social classes in Europe: peasants; artisans; traders and merchants; the clergy; nobles; kings.
    3. Development of trade; sea-route to Asia.

II. Early explorations and conquests.

  A. The explorations of the Italians and the Portuguese.
  B. Columbus, Da Gama, Vespucci, Balboa, and Magellan.
  C. Spanish conquests in North and South America.
  D. Early French explorations.
  E. Early English explorations.
  F. The conflict between England and Spain.

III. The settlement and development of the colonies.

  A. European conditions which led to American colonization.
    1. Religious changes.
    2. The cruel treatment of the peasants.
    3. The development of the art of printing.
    4. The new supply of gold from the Spanish possessions.

  B. The English colonies.
    1. The colonies first settled by English immigrants.
      a. Virginia.
      b. The New England colonies: Plymouth; Massachusetts Bay; Connecticut; New Hampshire.
      c. Maryland; Pennsylvania; the Carolinas; Georgia.
    2. Other settlements that became English colonies: New York; New Jersey; Delaware.
    3. Types of settlers in the English colonies.
      a. Immigrants seeking religious freedom.
      b. Immigrants seeking relief from poverty.
      c. Involuntary immigrants — slaves and criminals.
      d. Bond servants.

C. The French settlements and colonies.

1. The settlements at Quebec, New Orleans, and St. Louis.

D. The struggle between the French and the English for the control of the continent.

1. Differences between the French and English colonial policies.
2. The three early colonial wars.
3. The final struggle: the French and Indian War in America; the Seven Years' War in Europe.
4. The Treaty of Paris and its results.

E. The Spanish colonies in Louisiana and the Southwest.

F. Russian settlements in the Northwest.

IV. Important names which should be remembered in connection with one or more of the above topics:

Explorers: Columbus, Da Gama, Magellan, Balboa, De Soto, Coronado, Verrazano, Cartier, Champlain, Marquette, La Salle, Hudson, Cabot, Raleigh.

Colonial Pioneers: John Smith, William Bradford, John Endicott, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker.

Proprietors and Governors: Penn, Baltimore, Berkeley, Carteret, Lord de la Ware, Oglethorpe, Stuyvesant, Sir Edmund Andros.

Soldiers: Standish, Washington, Braddock, Wolfe, Montcalm.

Important dates: 1492; 1497; 1498; 1519–22; 1588; 1607; 1619; 1620; 1754; 1763.

British sovereigns during the periods of exploration, settlement, and colonization:

Henry VII, 1485–1509
Henry VIII, 1509–1547
Edward VI, 1547–1553
Mary, 1553–1558
Elizabeth, 1558–1603
James I, 1603–1625
Charles I, 1625–1649
Puritan Revolution and Cromwell, 1649–1660
Charles II, 1660–1685
James II, 1685–1688
William and Mary, 1689–1694
William III, 1694–1702
Anne, 1702–1714
George I, 1714–1727
George II, 1727–1760
George III, 1760–1820

CHAPTER VI

LIFE, LABOR, AND LIBERTY IN AMERICA ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

Never were the hopes of English statesmen higher than on the 10th day of February, 1763, when the treaty which brought the French and Indian War to an end was duly ratified and sealed. "England never signed such a peace before," exclaimed George III. "The country never saw so glorious a war or so honorable a peace," declared one of his great ministers. "The treaty," wrote another, "maintains the maritime power, the interests, the security, the tranquillity, and the honor of England."

Well might they rejoice. Spain had been humbled; France had been humbled; from the Ganges River to the Mississippi the British flag floated proudly over the empire of which Pitt had dreamed. Nothing remained but to weld these wide-flung dominions into closer union with the mother country, and to strengthen them by the army and navy against the renewed pretensions of the Spanish and the French. The task was inviting to patriotic Englishmen, and nothing seemed easier; but they had not reckoned with the people of the North American colonies.

I. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS: FARMING

The Spirit of Freedom and Self-Reliance. — From tiny settlements along the Atlantic coast there had sprung a nation. The majority of white men were not servile tenants, tilling the soil of feudal lords who in turn bowed to kingly power. They owned the ground they plowed and were proud of their freedom and independence. Those who were not landholders could look forward with confidence to acquiring homesteads of their own.

Moreover, not all the people were inexperienced in the art of government. In every colony there was an assembly of representatives, chosen by men of property and ready to champion popular interests as against royal interference.

Far and wide American merchants were building up trade, collecting the products of American farms, plantations, and forges, and exchanging them for the manufactures of England and the continent. In the shipyards of New England could be heard the ringing saw and hammer as swift sailing vessels were being built to range the seas in search of trade. A people so living and laboring, so full of industry and enterprise, were prepared to state the terms on which they would be welded into a closer union with the British empire.

The Population of the Colonies. — There were in all about three million people in the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution — not many, as measured by our modern standards, but more than a third of the population of England. Moreover, they were somewhat compactly settled along the Atlantic seaboard. Certainly a great majority of them lived within fifty or sixty miles of the coast.

At a few points the frontier line had been pushed farther inland. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland had been explored, laid out, and sparsely populated up almost to their present boundaries. In New York, settlements had spread up the Hudson Valley beyond Albany, which had become an important town, and posts had been planted as far westward as Schenectady and Little Falls. The frontier line of Pennsylvania did not extend far beyond Harrisburg, although there was a little village of two or three hundred inhabitants at Pittsburgh.

The Virginians, on the other hand, had been very active in taking up the western lands, for they had pushed up the river valleys to the foothills of the Appalachians. Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania Germans had occupied the fertile Shenandoah Valley in great numbers. Still bolder pioneers had dared to brave the wilderness and the Indians of Tennessee and Kentucky. As early as 1769, that mighty hunter, Daniel Boone, accompanied by a few friends, had gone from his home in North Carolina through Cumberland Gap into the Blue Grass regions of Kentucky and had brought back news of a wonderful country beyond the mountains. In North and South Carolina and Georgia, the settlers had clung to the coast more closely than their neighbors in Virginia; but the thin frontier line was slowly advancing into the uplands, and there were well-settled counties in the western regions of the Carolinas.

Farming the Principal Occupation. — First of all it should be remembered that the foundation of American self-reliance was in the cheap land and the system of small farms owned outright. Nine tenths of the people got their living from the soil. The farmers and their families produced nearly all they needed. Foodstuffs came from the fields or the neighboring forests and streams. Hewn logs furnished the building materials, and houses and barns were cheaply and quickly built by the coöperation of neighbors, the settlers helping one another by "swapping work" as it was called. Grain was ground by mills driven by hand or water power. Tea, coffee, sugar, and salt were the only foodstuffs bought at towns. Even sugar was made from maple syrup in the North, and salt was obtained from sea water. Hardware and implements had to be bought, but forges sprang up all over the country to supply this demand.

By hard labor, men, women, and children could secure the means of livelihood and live in security and independence. A young married couple needed only a little cash to make a payment on some land, and in addition, as a writer of that time remarked, " a gun, some powder and shot, a few tools, and a plow." Many even refused to pay for land, and, plunging into the wilderness, bought it from the Indians or seized it in defiance of the law.

The Meaning of Land-Ownership. — This employment of the masses on the land had a deep meaning for the future of America. The peasants of Europe were also engaged in tilling the soil; but under conditions of life far different from those of the American farmer. They were, as we have seen, either serfs, bound to obey and pay the lord of the land, or agricultural laborers working for wages. Very few of them owned outright the fields they tilled. It was otherwise in the colonies. It is true that there were slaves on the southern plantations, tenants on the estates along the Hudson River, and bond servants in many colonies;

Houses and barns were cheaply and quickly built by the coöperation of neighbors.

but nowhere in the world had as large a proportion of the tillers of the soil been free, home-owning farmers.

The founders of Massachusetts gave every "adventurer" who went to the colony fifty acres. This practice of giving small plots outright to settlers was common in New England and stimulated immigration to that section. In New York the landed aristocracy owned vast estates, which had been founded in Dutch times, or later by English royal grant. This land monopoly checked the spread of settlement until after the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Mohawk Valley was opened on the principle of granting land in small lots to owners and farmers. In Pennsylvania, William Penn tried to establish a system of large land-owners by selling five-thousand-acre estates at a lump sum and then demanding a perpetual rent. It was difficult, however, to secure tenants, and so Penn and the purchasers of large estates were forced to sell in small lots to freemen or to bond servants whose terms had expired.

In the southern colonies, although the system of great estates prevailed along the coasts, the broken upland regions, where slavery was not profitable, were settled by farmers who bought plots outright at small sums.

There was more or less competition among the colonies for settlers. The first governor of New Jersey offered to every man who had a musket, ammunition, and six months provisions, at least one hundred fifty acres with an additional grant for each servant or slave.

Land-Owning and Liberty. — It was these land-owning citizens, "the embattled farmers," who made possible the American Revolution. As Jefferson said, the man who owns his own land and looks to the sun in heaven and to the labor of his hands for his sustenance, can have the spirit of independence which is the life breath of republics.

It was in the homes of these free farmers that the men came to have the courage to defy kings and aristocrats. They had to bow before no lords. They paid tribute to no barons of the soil. They loved the fields they owned and tilled and were determined to keep the produce of their labor. The man with the hoe, bowed by the weight of centuries, straightened up his shoulders, bared his head to the sun, drew deep the breath of liberty, and listened kindly to those who said that kings were enemies of human freedom.

If it is true that the merchants started the American Revolution, it must be said that the farmers finished it. With their muskets in hand they went to the front, while their wives and children, accustomed to labor and independence, managed the farms, molded bullets, wove cloth, and prepared supplies. Such is the story of the land. More than once in our history we shall have to come back to it.

II. Manufacturing, Shipbuilding, and Commerce; the Cities; Travel

The Beginnings of Manufacturing. — Busy as were the people with clearing and tilling the soil, they by no means neglected manufacturing, even though their achievements seem small to us in this day of huge industries. Every staple trade in the United States had its beginnings before the Revolution. Hemp, flax, cotton, and wool were raised in abundance, and the textile business had a good start before 1776. The Scotch-Irish in New Hampshire and in the southern colonies made fine linens. Cotton spinning and weaving kept pace with other industries. There were no great mill-towns, however, such as we now find in Massachusetts or South Carolina. The textile industry was scattered throughout the country among the homes of the people and was carried on chiefly by the women.

Manufacturing in the Home. — Although it is customary in our time to call attention to the large number of women and children employed in industries, it is important to remember that they have always borne their full share of the burden. In colonial times, practically all of the coarse cloth was made by them on the home-made spinning wheel and loom, while only the finer fabrics were imported.

So extensive had the domestic industry become by the opening of the eighteenth century that the royal governor of New York found in it the germs of independence. He said:

> The consequence will be that if they can cloath themselves once, not only comfortably but handsomely too, without the help of England, they who are already not very fond of submitting to Government would soon think of putting in Execution designs they had long harboured in their breasts. This will not seem strange when you consider what sort of people this Country is inhabited by.

Parliament then passed the Woolen Act, prohibiting the exportation of woolen goods from the colonies and even from one colony to another for sale, and so prolonged for more than half a century the hold of English merchants on American trade.

The Iron Industry. — The iron industry also had a fair start before the Revolution. It seems that every colony except Georgia had its iron works. Furnaces for smelting, foundries, rolling mills, nail and wire mills, and factories for metallic wares, chains, anchors, pig iron, and bar iron could be found within a reasonable distance of almost any farming section. Even some export trade had developed, in spite of the laws made by the British government to keep down the iron industry in America.

Shipbuilding. — Of all the more specialized industries in the colonies, shipbuilding was by far the most important.

It is said that the first ship built in America was constructed at Manhattan by Captain Block early in the seventeenth century. Certainly by the middle of that century ship yards were scattered all along the coast of New England, wherever there were good harbors. Within a few years New York had become a prominent shipping center, and shipbuilding occupied several hundred men along the Hudson as far north as Poughkeepsie and Albany. At the time of the Revolution, however, the ports of Massachusetts led all the rest in this industry. Though the southern colonies built many vessels, they were better known for the production of ship materials, "naval stores," hemp, tar, cedar, and fir, than for actual shipbuilding.

The total output of vessels in all the colonies in 1769 did not equal the tonnage of a small modern ocean liner. And yet it gave the colonists a taste of power. They knew that they had an abundance of ship materials. They had learned to range the seas in search of profitable trade. Like the fledgling bird just from the nest, they had tried their wings and were delighted at their strength.

The Merchants and Traders. — Trade and transportation soon followed the growth of agriculture and industry, and on favorable harbors little cities grew up. Tobacco, rice, and ship materials from the southern states, lumber, grain, and salt pork from the middle colonies, and flour, salted fish, rum, and shoes from New England had to be carried to markets in the West Indies or Great Britain or Europe, and the finer imported stuffs brought back for distribution among the colonists. Tons of salt fish, especially cod, were taken every month to France and Spain. New England products were shipped to the West Indies and exchanged for sugar, molasses, and dyestuffs; the molasses was made into rum; and the rum was carried to the coasts of Africa where it was exchanged for slaves, who were in turn taken to the southern planters and to the West Indies. All this meant a growing class of shipowners, merchants, and traders who had to live in convenient centers for shipping, and so a few towns sprang up.

The Principal Cities. — In 1763 Philadelphia, the largest city in the colonies, boasted a population of only about 25,000. New York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, Hartford, Providence, and Norfolk were reckoned among the other chief cities, though they were merely overgrown country villages, according to our standards. In these towns, as on the great plantations of the South, there were a few stately homes of rich merchants and landed proprietors. Some of the well-to-do merchants rode in coaches and wore powdered wigs after the fashion of English gentlemen, while their wives were "resplendent in silks, satins, velvets, and brocades."

From a photograph

William Penn's House as It Appears in Fairmount Park To-day

Travel in Colonial America. — One thing that confined the location of towns mainly to good harbors was the backward state of the roads and the horrors of overland travel. It is almost impossible for us to imagine in these days the difficulties encountered in colonial times by those who had occasion to journey far from home. Trips from city to city along the coast were usually made in small sailing vessels. Sloops navigated the larger rivers — the Connecticut, Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, and James — while upon the smaller streams hand-propelled boats were extensively used. The rivers of New England were not navigable far inland, and as a result the construction of roads was more advanced in that region than in any of the other colonies.

On the eve of the Revolution there had been opened the famous "Shore Road" from Boston through Providence, New London, and New Haven, to New York City. There was also an overland route from Boston, through Medfield, Hartford, and Litchfield, to New York. But both were merely widened trails which were almost impassable during the rainy seasons. Regular stagecoach lines seem to have been established between Boston and New York in 1732, and between New York and Philadelphia in 1756. To the southward, where there were many navigable streams reaching inward to the plantations, most of the travel was by water routes and the construction of roads was sadly neglected. Except along the highways between the large towns wheeled vehicles were seldom seen. Travel off those lines was by horseback, and goods were carried by pack horses.

III. Differences in Government between Northern and Southern Colonies

Conditions in New England.—The difficulties of travel shut the communities off from one another and tended to the development of peculiar ways of living in each locality

—"provincialism," as it is called. There were other reasons, too, for the marked distinctions among the several sections. The character of the country and the climate made a great difference in the methods of settlement. In New England the winters were long and cold, and there were no wide and fertile valleys bordering deep and navigable streams. There the great plantation system of the South with slave labor could not be adopted. Moreover the Indians were very troublesome, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

For these and perhaps other reasons, the New England frontier was advanced by planting close together tiny settlements, called "towns," rather than by the rapid spread of huge estates like those in Virginia. A town in this sense included not merely the village in the center but the surrounding farms as well. It was similar to the "township" in Indiana and the other middle western states. There was one important difference, however; its boundaries were not regular as are those of the western townships, each of which is normally six miles square. Thus it came about that in the colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, the town was the "unit" or smallest division of local government, and the colony was simply a collection of towns.

Local Self-government in New England. The Town Meeting.—Each one of these little towns was governed by a "town meeting," in which every man entitled to vote could take part in discussing and determining what the town should do. At the town meeting, everything of importance to the people was decided: the sizes of the houses to be built, the kinds of roofs to be put on the houses, the laying out of roads, and other matters of similar detail. There, also, the voters agreed on the amount of taxes to be laid on the inhabitants and chose the officers to carry on the business of government: the selectmen, constables, cowherds, poundkeepers, fence-viewers, and hog-reeves.

The town meetings were little "schools of government and politics," in which the men of New England learned how to manage local matters. Instead of having a royal officer sent down to tell them what to do and how to do it, they looked after their own affairs. In the debates at the town hall, they formed the habit of discussing questions of government, such as taxation and the election of officers. Men accustomed to transact public business were not likely to look with favor upon a king's interference.

Other Sources of the Spirit of Independence in New England. — The New England churches also contributed to the spirit of political liberty. Each little town had its own Congregational church, which was controlled from within. The men in the church chose the parson and conducted the business of the church to suit themselves. They would listen only to the kind of sermons that they liked, and they would not allow the preacher to tell them exactly what to believe and to do. The clergymen, being well educated, were very influential men in the towns; but they were by no means masters.

New England independence was further increased by the fact that the inland regions were largely settled by dissatisfied townsmen from the older districts who did not like the sermons of the preachers, the management of the public business, or interference with their own ways of thinking and talking. Criticism of the government and the church was always rife, and sometimes even the women took part in opposition to the town "fathers" and the parson.

One of them, Anne Hutchinson, wanted the right to believe what she pleased, and objected to the action of the preachers in meddling in town government and other affairs outside of church business. The ministers and the voters who had been accustomed to manage things in their own way were horrified at this "unwomanly" conduct. Thereupon she was driven out of Massachusetts "for traducing the ministers and their ministry," and founded the town of Pocasset (Pawtucket) in Rhode Island.

Anne Hutchinson Preaching in Her Home

In view of all this debating about town government and church affairs, it is not surprising that the people of New England were very jealous of their rights.

Larger "Units" of Government in the Middle Colonies.— In New York, the "patroon" system, introduced by the Dutch, made the government of many towns in the Hudson Valley very different from that in New England. Some of the great estates were, in fact, complete villages with thousands of acres of land attached, all owned by rich landlords. In general, however, New York was laid out after the fashion of Old England into counties. This was true of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. The county thus became an important unit of government; but at the same time the middle colonies retained the towns, where local meetings and elections nourished the spirit of independence.

The "County" as the Unit in the South. — To the South, where the wide valleys and mild climate made possible the cultivation of immense plantations by slave labor, the settlers spread out rapidly on their broad estates, so that the area occupied was more thinly settled and far greater in extent than in New England. In the South, therefore, the county was the important "unit" of local government. The sheriff, the justices of the peace, and the other county officers, were not elected by the voters, but were appointed by the royal governor. Nevertheless the southern people had their colonial assemblies, and were equally zealous with those of the North in the defense of their rights. Planters took the leadership, and the small farmers, "the yeomen" of the inland regions, supported the American cause by giving freely their blood and treasure.

IV. Likenesses in Government between the North and the South

Few Differences in Language, Religion, and Law. — Notwithstanding all the differences among the colonies which tended to disunion, there were many things which helped to draw them together. (1) They had a common language and a common literature. (2) Although they were divided into many sects, they were nearly all Protestants. (3) From New Hampshire to Georgia one kind of law was applied

— the common law of England — except as far as it was modified by local legislatures. Trial by jury and a certain amount of religious toleration were found everywhere. (4) Finally, but by no means least important, was their similarity in the form of government. No matter whether the colony was royal, corporate, or proprietary, it had an assembly chosen by men of property. This assembly had a share in the making of laws, and no taxes could be collected without its consent. The right to vote was limited, and yet there grew up in every colony a large body of men who had a share in their own government, and who were accustomed to think of themselves as having an important part in the making of laws and laying of taxes.

"Representative" Government in the Colonies. — In the early days of settlement, when each colony was confined to a single post or community, its local affairs were managed by all those inhabitants entitled to a voice in government. When several settlements were added, it became difficult for the voters to meet in one place, and the "general" assembly was given up in favor of a "representative" assembly composed of delegates from each town, plantation, or county, as the case might be. Such a representative body was called in Virginia as early as 1619, and long before the Revolution every colony had its assembly, chosen by the voters.

In all the colonies, except Pennsylvania and Georgia, the legislature consisted of two houses. In the New England colonies, except New Hampshire, both houses were elected; while in New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Virginia, North and South Carolina, the upper house consisted of a governor's council appointed by the king in England.

Restrictions on the Right to Vote. — A large number of the adult inhabitants had no share in voting for representatives in the colonial assembly. Only those who had property or paid taxes could vote. A man could not vote in Virginia unless he owned a certain amount of land, or in Massachusetts unless he had a stated amount of land or other property of a fixed value. Moreover, the law often provided that the voter or officeholder must believe in certain religious doctrines.

The idea that only property owners should vote had been brought from England. Only a few of the most radical had suggested that all men should be given the ballot, regardless of their wealth or religious opinions.

It is estimated that about one fourth of the white males were denied a share in the governments of the colonies because they did not hold the required amount of property. Strange to say, not more than one half, and frequently far less than one half of those entitled to vote seem to have taken the trouble to exercise the right.

Limited Suffrage Led to the Growth of a "Governing Class." — The limitations on the right to vote and the indifference of many voters made it possible in nearly every colony for a minority of well-to-do and active men to form themselves into a "governing class." In the South, for instance, the rich plantation owners were the only persons who had the leisure and means necessary to travel and to take part in politics; they ruled the southern colonies, particularly Virginia. In Pennsylvania, it was the Quaker merchants and land-owners who ruled. In New York, the great feudal landlords of the Hudson Valley and the rich merchants and shipowners of New York City were the leaders in politics. In New England, the clergy, the lawyers, and the merchants made up what was known as the "natural aristocracy"; but the free farmers composed a majority of the inhabitants and were active in political life, especially in town meetings. Some of those who were excluded from a share in public affairs were discontented with their lot, even before the Revolution; and, after independence was secured, they began to demand a share in the government.

Contests between Royal Governors and Representative Assemblies. — The men who did have a voice in electing members of the colonial popular assembly, and who took part in the elections, were very stanch in contending that they had a right to transact the business of the colony in their own way. They wanted to make laws and to tax themselves as they pleased; but there were several difficulties in the way. In none of the colonies, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, were the governors elected by popular vote. In New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and the other southern colonies, the governor was appointed by the king; in the proprietary colonies — Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware — the proprietor either acted as governor himself or selected some one to act in his stead.

There were often spirited contests between the governor and the popular assembly. In these contests the voters took a lively interest. They learned that by resisting the king's governor they could frequently get their own way. Often they would refuse to vote any taxes until the governor would promise to grant them some favor which they demanded. In the struggles over colonial government, and in the meetings in the towns, the men of the colonies were being prepared to assert and maintain their complete independence.

V. Education in the Colonies; Summary

There was, in colonial times, no common system of public schools; there were few important books on American life, and no newspapers and magazines with circulations extending from New Hampshire to Georgia. Newspapers there were, it is true, in Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and some other cities; but they were small sheets which had only a few hundred readers in the immediate neighborhood.

Elementary Education Strongly Religious. — The English colonies had been founded long before the idea of free public schools had taken any root in Europe; but one of the chief demands of each sect in America was the right to instruct all its youth in the religious doctrines which it held to be true. In order that their children might not wander from the faith of their fathers, the members of these sects laid great emphasis on teaching young people to read, so that they could learn the catechism and study the Bible. As a result many schools for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious doctrines sprang up. This was especially true of New England.

HARVARD COLLEGE IN 1776 *From an old print*

The Colleges. — There were few colleges in colonial times and they were likewise designed to advance the interests of religious sects: the Puritan colleges, Harvard and Yale in New England; the Episcopal colleges, King's in New York (now Columbia University), and William and Mary in Virginia; The College of New Jersey (now Princeton) under Presbyterian auspices; and the independent University of Pennsylvania founded by Benjamin Franklin. In the South schools and colleges were not so common. Well-to-do planters had tutors for their children and sent their sons to England to complete their education.

Summary: America Prepared for Independence. — When we think of the humble beginnings, we cannot repress surprise that it was possible for the Americans to carry through the Revolution against the power that had humbled Spain and France. (1) The difficulties of travel and communication made it hard to unite the colonies and get them to pull together. (2) The long distances made it difficult to collect troops speedily at strategic points and often defeated the best-laid plans. (3) The backward state of industries and business taxed the skill of the patriots in finding money and supplies for the army.

And yet there were elements of strength. (1) Accustomed to a large degree of self-government in their towns and colonial legislatures, the men had confidence in their powers of management. (2) Knowing that they could build ships as large and swift as any that sailed the seas, they gathered courage for their contest with Great Britain. (3) With more home-owning tillers of the soil and with more freedom of education and discussion than any European nations enjoyed, they had more independence of spirit and more liberty in living than did the masses beyond the seas.

America was prepared to challenge kings, princes, and lords, and to prepare the way for the best democracy, with all its limitations and errors, that the world had up to that time beheld. The strength was in the life and labor of the people.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Compare the farmers of America in colonial times with the peasant-farmers of Europe. 2. In what ways does the ownership of his land by the farmer develop his spirit of self-reliance and independence? 3. In what parts of the southern colonies were the farm lands usually owned by the men who tilled them?

II. 1. How was manufacturing carried on in the colonies? 2. Name the principal manufactured goods. 3. Why were the northern colonies more actively engaged in ship building than the southern colonies? 4. In what colonies was commerce important and with what parts of the world was foreign commerce carried on? What were the principal goods exported and imported? 5. How did people travel in colonial times?

III. 1. Make a list of the leading differences in surface and climate between New England and Virginia. 2. Why have the New England town meetings been called "schools of government and politics"? 3. In what way did the organization of the churches in New England help to develop the spirit of independence? 4. Who was Anne Hutchinson? Why is her name remembered? 5. Make a list of the principal differences between the government of the New England colonies and the government of the middle colonies.

IV. 1. In what ways were the colonies similar? 2. What is meant by representative government? 3. What differences would there be in our government to-day if the right to vote were determined by a "property" standard? 4. In what different ways were the governors chosen in the various colonies? In what way did the voters sometimes control the "royal" governors?

V. 1. Why did the colonists, especially in New England, place so much importance upon teaching children to read?

Review: Locate on an outline map of the United States (*a*) the western limits of the settlements and (*b*) the principal cities of the colonies at the close of the Seven Years' War.

Problems for Further Study

1. In your neighborhood do the farmers till their own lands or are the farms generally worked by renters? Can the renters in your neighborhood look forward to owning the land that they till? Compare the opportunities for land-ownership to-day with those of colonial times.

2. Give an account of the difficulties of travel both by land and by water in colonial days.

See Mowry's "American Inventions and Inventors," pp. 187–206; Hart's "Colonial Children," pp. 67–70.

3. Imagine yourself a colonial schoolboy. Be ready to tell the class what you would have studied, what kind of teachers you would have had, and how you would have been taught.

See Hart's "Colonial Children," Part VII, especially pp. 206–207; 210–215; 218–232; Eggleston's "Our First Century," pp. 192–200.

4. Give as many reasons as you can explaining why most of the English settlements were within fifty miles of the Atlantic coast.

See Semple's "American History and its Geographic Conditions," ch. iii; Brigham's "Geographic Influences in American History," ch. iii.

CHAPTER VII

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The close of the French and Indian War marked a new epoch in America. Until that day, the English colonists had enjoyed a wide liberty in the management of their affairs. It is true that many laws restricting their trade had been passed by Parliament, but they were not enforced. During much of the seventeenth century, when the foundations of all the colonies except Georgia were being laid, the English at home were in the throes of a revolution. In 1649 they beheaded their king, Charles I, and in 1688 they drove out another king, James II. At the opening of the eighteenth century and for a long time afterward, Great Britain was involved in European wars which taxed the energies and absorbed the interest of her statesmen.

I. England Begins to Control Colonial Trade

After 1763 the British government was in a much better position to bring the colonists under control. Spain had been reduced to so low an estate that she was not to be taken seriously as a rival in the New World, and France had been driven from the continent of North America altogether. Moreover, at this time England was at peace at home. The government no longer feared the outbreak of another revolution. The British navy was triumphant at sea and King George III was secure on his throne.

The British Imperial Policy. — In other words, the day had come for putting into effect what was known as an "imperial colonial policy." This meant keeping English trade in English hands and excluding the Dutch, French, Spanish, and all other peoples from profiting by it in any way. It meant also building up the English merchant-marine, so as to increase the number of English sailors and thus make possible a navy that could continue to "rule the waves." This imperial policy led the British government to interfere more and more with the affairs of the colonists, with a view to strengthening the British empire and enlarging British trade throughout the world.

The Objectionable Laws. — Great Britain did not suddenly decide upon this policy in 1763. A long time before, she had begun to enact a long series of laws, including the following measures:

1. *Navigation Laws.* These laws provided that all products grown or manufactured in Asia, Africa, or America must be imported into England or English colonies only in English ships; also that European goods could be carried to the colonies only in English ships, and not then unless they were first taken to England.

2. *Trade Laws*, requiring colonists to sell their tobacco and some other produce to English merchants only, even if better prices could be secured elsewhere.

3. *Acts Forbidding Manufactures.* In order to compel the colonists to buy from English manufacturers, they were forbidden to produce in America, for the purpose of export to neighboring towns and colonies or abroad, a number of commodities, such as fur caps, steel, and woolen goods.

The Stubbornness of George III. — George III, who came to the throne in 1760, was willful and arbitrary in his government, and stubborn in his views. Parliament, which made the laws that stirred the Americans to arms, represented only a few thousand voters. The mass of the people had no voice in the government. By bribery and other means George III was always able to get a majority in Parliament in favor of his plans. In all this he was the spokesman for a small but powerful party of "imperialists" in England, who were bent on binding the colonies to the mother country and using their trade and commerce for the benefit of British manufacturers and merchants.

Enforcement of Old Laws and Enactment of New Laws after 1763. — Although most of the trade laws had been on the books a long time, they had not been strictly enforced. After 1763, however, Great Britain, being at peace with the rest of the world, and having her warships ready for action against smugglers, set about the task of bringing the American colonies into closer union with the home country. The British territory in North America had been greatly increased and more troops were needed to defend it. There was always some danger that France and Spain might attempt to recover what they had lost. It seemed the proper thing, therefore, to the British government to keep a larger army in the colonies and to call on the inhabitants to pay a part of the cost of defense.

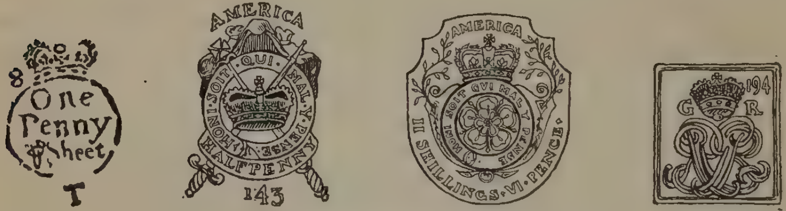
New Policy of Great Britain. — Among the many ways in which the British sought to strengthen the empire and secure a firmer grip on the colonies were the following:

1. The trade and navigation laws mentioned above were enforced by having warships constantly searching the coast waters for smugglers who brought goods into the colonies in violation of the laws. These smugglers were tried in an "admiralty" court where no jury was used. This was done because it was found that, when smugglers were tried in the ordinary courts, juries composed of neighbors refused to find the accused guilty of the charge.

2. Another cause of grievance was the order of the king

in 1763 forbidding colonists to go into the western country and buy land from the Indians, or to settle there without the consent of the royal government. The Americans regarded this as an infringement of their right to go where they pleased and make homes for themselves.

3. In addition to an old tax on sugar and molasses bought anywhere except in the British West Indies, special duties were laid in 1764 on many French, Spanish, and Portuguese articles imported into the colonies.



Stamp Act Stamps

They ranged in cost from a penny to several pounds.

4. In 1765 a stamp tax was laid on a large number of papers and documents used in the colonies. This was the first time in the history of America that the British government had imposed an "internal" tax on the inhabitants directly, and it was resented, as all new taxes are usually disliked by those who have to pay them. The law provided that stamps ranging in cost from a penny to several pounds should be placed on newspapers, almanacs, playing cards, deeds, licenses, college diplomas, etc.

II. The Protests of the Colonies against Taxation without Representation

Opposition to the Stamp Act. *Virginia.* — Although the money raised from the stamp duty was to be spent in the colonies for their defense, the Americans objected to the tax because it was imposed upon them without their consent by a parliament three thousand miles away in London, where they had no representatives. It seemed unbearable. In the Virginia House of Burgesses (see page 111) Patrick Henry made a fiery speech against the stamp tax. Moved by his eloquence, the members passed resolutions denouncing the law and declaring that the people of that colony had certain "rights" which could not be taken from them, including the right to be taxed and governed only by their own assembly of elected representatives.

The Stamp Act Congress. — Far away to the North, Massachusetts also was stirred by the stamp tax. There Samuel Adams took the lead. James Otis, "a flame of fire," eloquently attacked British policy as illegal and unjust, and flung himself into the fray. The lower house of the legislature issued a call to all the colonies to send delegates to a congress at New York City. Nine colonies responded to the call, and the famous "Stamp Act Congress" met in New York in October, 1765.

From a painting by Robert Reid

THE SPEECH OF JAMES OTIS

This Congress passed a set of resolutions condemning the Stamp Act and other laws interfering with colonial trade; and declared that the colonists could be lawfully taxed only by their representatives in their own legislatures. It was added also that the colonists could not, from the nature of the circumstances, be represented in the distant British Parliament. These resolutions, therefore, were a protest against the British interference and a declaration that the colonists would not endure taxation by Parliament.

The Colonists Give Other Evidences of Disapproval. — Those who were opposed to the stamp tax did not stop at passing resolutions. In a number of the larger towns, mobs collected in the streets and shouted that they would cram the stamps down the throats of the agents who attempted to sell them. The houses of some of the agents were looted. In Philadelphia a document duly stamped as required by the British government was publicly burned to show the contempt of the people for the tax. At another town an agent was seized by a mob and compelled to shout at the top of his voice, "Liberty, property, and no stamps."

The colonists, in addition to protesting and rioting, resorted to a scheme still more dangerous to British merchants. They agreed to "boycott" English goods; that is, not to buy anything from English merchants. This "non-importation agreement," as it was known, seriously injured British trade and brought the merchants to their knees begging for mercy.

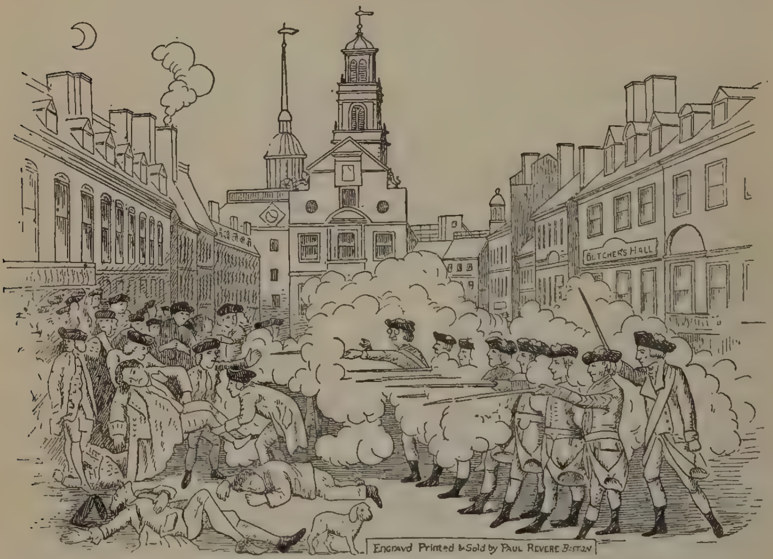
The Stamp Act Repealed; the Townshend Acts Passed. — As a result of all this disturbance, Parliament decided to give up its plan, and in 1766 it repealed the obnoxious law. The colonists rejoiced when they heard that the Stamp Act was no more; but they rejoiced too soon, for the repeal did not mean that the British government intended to give up its policy of controlling colonial trade and manufactures. On the contrary, in denouncing the stamp tax in the British Parliament, William Pitt, who was considered a friend of America, distinctly said: "We may *bind* their trade, *confine* their manufactures, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent."

The very next year, 1767, the British Parliament passed three important laws, known as the Townshend Acts, all of which angered the colonists. (1) One of them ordered the legislature of New York not to do any further business until it had provided supplies for British soldiers quartered there. (2) Another created a board of officers at the port of Boston to see that the trade laws were enforced. (3) The third laid a small tax on glass, red and white lead, paper, tea, and paints. At the same time a "Declaratory Act" was passed asserting the right of Parliament to control the colonies "in all matters."

The excitement which had been aroused by the Stamp Act was all stirred up again. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania protested against the laws, and colonial merchants renewed the boycott on British goods. It was thought that the vigorous measures which had forced the British government to repeal the Stamp Act would compel it to give up the enforcement of the trade and navigation laws. This time the rebellious colonists were wrong in their guess.

The "Boston Massacre." — The enactment of the Townshend laws brought on riots in the colonies, such as had followed the Stamp Act. When troops began to arrive from England to enforce the law, mobs in the streets jeered them. In October, 1768, the royal governor of Massachusetts lamented that "many of the common people have been in a frenzy and talked of dying in defence of their liberties and have spoke and printed what is highly criminal."

On the night of March 5, 1770, a crowd, collected in the streets of Boston, began to jostle some soldiers on duty and to call them names. Things went from bad to worse until "some boys and young fellows" began to throw snowballs and stones, and the soldiers fired on the crowd, killing five and wounding half a dozen more. This "Boston Massacre" stirred the whole country from New Hampshire to Georgia.


BUTCHERS HALL
Engravd Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE BOSTON

From an engraving by Paul Revere

The "Boston Massacre" stirred the whole country from New Hampshire to Georgia.

The Tea Tax; the Boston "Tea Party." — In 1770 Parliament repealed all the taxes laid by the Townshend Acts except the duty of three pence a pound on tea, which was kept principally to show the colonists that Parliament still claimed the right to tax them without their consent. This encouraged smugglers to bring in tea from Holland without paying the tax, and by unlawful methods thousands of pounds were brought into Boston as well as other ports along the Atlantic coast. Then the British government, to help the East India Company sell large stocks of tea on hand in London, made it possible for the Company to send tea to America at an especially low rate. Thus the Company could readily undersell even the Boston merchants who had smuggled Dutch tea, or had bought it in the regular manner and paid full duties.

The Boston Tea Party.

The merchants were enraged not so much at the three pence tax on the tea, as at the favor shown by the British government to the East India Company. They feared the growth of a great monopoly that would mean their ruin. Stirred by this danger, a band of men dressed as Indians boarded, in December, 1773, the vessels which brought the hated cargoes, and dumped the tea into the Boston harbor. A year later, at Annapolis, the *Peggy Stewart* with a cargo of tea was burned by the owner to satisfy angry citizens.

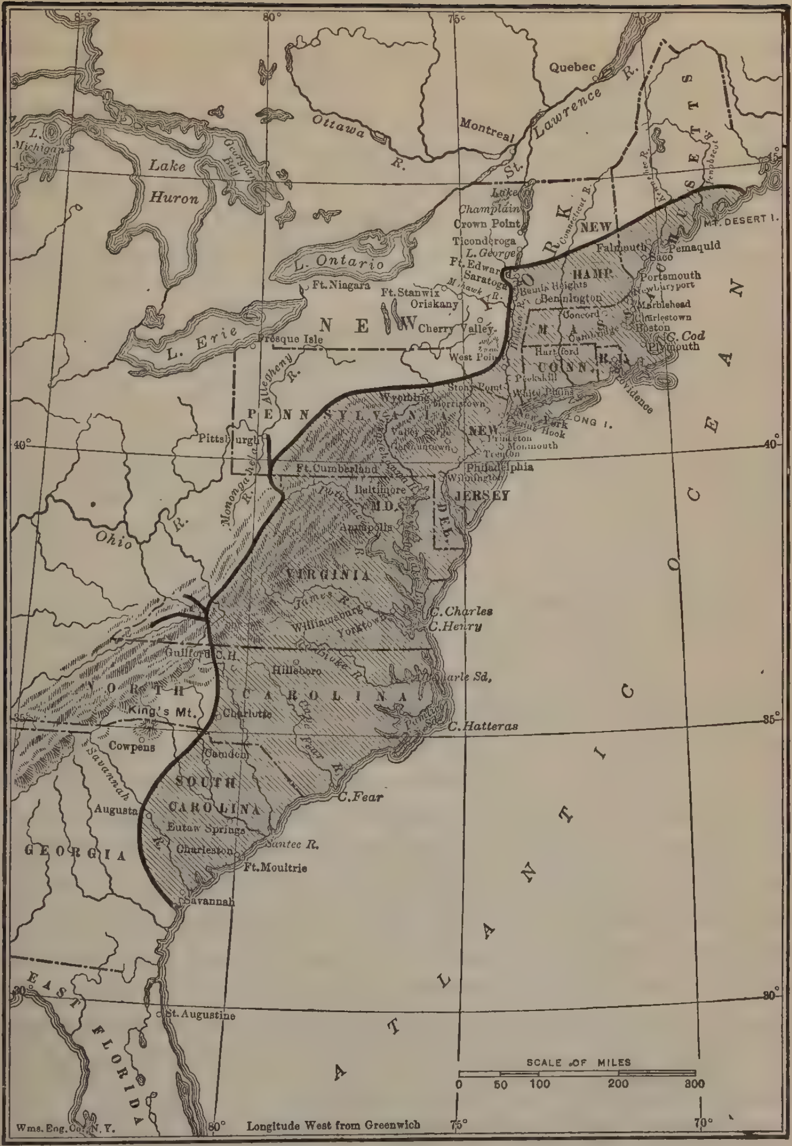
The Colonists Punished for Their Resistance. — Instead of yielding to this show of force on the part of the colonists the British government resorted to measures which proved that it was in earnest. (1) It ordered the legislatures of several colonies to dissolve, and the legislators to go home and stay there until called by the royal authorities. (2) It passed the Boston Port Bill, which closed the port and destroyed all of the ocean trade that centered there. (3) It gave the governor of Massachusetts, who was appointed by the king, the power to send to England or another colony for trial any official accused of committing murder while enforcing the laws. (4) It forbade the people of Massachusetts to hold town meetings without the consent of the governor, except to elect officers.

III. The Crisis Reached

The First Continental Congress (1774). — The answer of the Americans to the strong measures on the part of the British government was a general Congress composed of agents from every colony except Georgia, who met in Carpenters' Hall, in Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774. This national assembly, like the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, was called by the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature. It was attended by fifty-six delegates.

The Congress did two important things: it issued a declaration setting forth the grievances and rights of the colonists; and it formed a general non-importation or boycott association against British goods.

1. In the declaration of rights, it protested against the recent objectionable laws of the British government. It announced that the colonies had the right to tax themselves; to make laws for their internal government; to assemble peaceably; to petition the government and to state



The Colonies and the Extent of Settlement (see Map, P. 196) on the Eve of the Revolution their grievances; to be free from a standing army in time of peace; and to enjoy trial by jury.

2. In the non-importation agreement it was provided that no English goods should be imported or sold, and that committees chosen by the voters in every town, city, and county should enforce the boycott. Many a merchant was tarred and feathered for selling English goods in violation of the agreement.

Before adjourning, the Continental Congress called a second Congress to meet at Philadelphia the following year.

Committees of Correspondence.—In the towns, counties, cities, and colonies committees of revolutionists were formed, which assumed direction of the struggle against Great Britain. The committees corresponded with one another and kept alive the spirit of revolution, while serving as valuable aids in upholding the government.

The Americans Firm in Their Resistance. — It was clear by 1774 that the more determined Americans were resolved to push the conflict to a finish, if the British government did not recede from its position. And recede it could not without abandoning a policy which promised to bring great profits to the English merchants and manufacturers and to strengthen the British empire. The truth was that Americans could build ships as big and fast as any that sailed the seas; their merchants had pushed out in every direction into Europe and Asia in search of trade; they had immense natural resources; they could grow cotton and flax and make cloth for themselves. Therefore they were in no mood to see their enterprise restricted, their chances to gather trade cut away, by laws made by a distant Parliament for the benefit of Great Britain.

A people with such courage, industry, and enterprise as the American colonists, with a vast country at their disposal, could not long endure such laws as those by which the

British Parliament sought to bind them. They proposed to reap the reward of their own labor. Somebody had to give way, either the British government, representing the British merchants, manufacturers, and traders, or the American colonists. As there was a deadlock, and neither side would yield to petitions or arguments, resort to arms was tried.

English Friends of America. — Some of the most distinguished men in England — Pitt, Burke, and Fox — raised their voices in opposition to the measures that were taken against the American colonists.

William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. — First among these was William Pitt (Earl of Chatham) under whose leadership the borders of the British empire had been widened during the Seven Years' War. When the news of resistance to the Stamp Act reached the mother country, he was stretched upon a sick bed; but he declared that, if he could "crawl or be carried" to the House of Lords, he would there "deliver his mind and heart upon the state of America." And he did. With passion and bitterness he poured scorn upon the heads of the men who enacted and defended the Stamp Act:

> On a question that may mortally wound the freedom of three millions of virtuous and brave subjects beyond the Atlantic Ocean, he said, I cannot be silent. America being neither really nor virtually represented in Westminster [Parliament], cannot be held legally, or constitutionally, or reasonably subject to obedience to any money [tax] bill of this kingdom. . . . The Americans are the sons . . . of England. As subjects they are entitled to the common right of representation and cannot be bound to pay taxes without their consent. . . . The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. . . . The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted.

Ten years later, the Earl of Chatham once more startled the House of Lords by demanding the speedy removal of British troops from the town of Boston. Again he pleaded for a policy of conciliation and warned the government that it could not break the power of united America:

> It is not repealing a piece of parchment that can restore America to our bosom; you must repeal her fears and her resentments; and then you may hope for her love and gratitude. Insulted with an armed force posted at Boston, irritated with a hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you could force them, would be insecure. But it is more than evident, that united as they are, you cannot force them to your unworthy terms of submission.

Edmund Burke. — While Pitt, with noble eloquence, was pleading in the House of Lords for measures of moderation and peace, an orator no less eminent for his talents and courage, Edmund Burke, was laboring in the House of Commons to soften the heart of the obstinate government. In two speeches which take their places among the splendid classics of the English tongue — one on "American Taxation" and the other on "Conciliation with America" — Burke urged counsels of justice and generosity.

He sketched the rise of the American colonies from little hamlets and posts to prosperous colonies and a great nation. He rejoiced in the courage and achievement of English people beyond the sea. He spoke of them not as aliens and enemies but as countrymen and brothers. He took pride in their spirit of liberty. Then he solemnly warned those responsible for the policy of taxation and repression that harshness and stubbornness would drive Americans into breaking the empire. He had little patience with those who spoke of the "right" of Parliament to tax the colonists, saying:

> The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable but whether it is not to your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do.

It was the advocates of strong measures who triumphed in Parliament and in the councils of King George. "My Lords," exclaimed Lord Grower, on hearing Pitt's argument for moderation and reconciliation, "let the Americans talk about their natural and divine rights! their rights as men and citizens! their rights from God and nature! I am for enforcing these measures." Rejecting all pleas for justice and reason, they placed their hopes in armed force. Little did they understand the task that lay before them.

The Americans Not Wholly United.—As Englishmen at home were divided over the policy to be pursued in the treatment of the colonists, so Americans themselves were by no means all agreed on resistance to the mother country. Some Americans were high tempered and favored quick and unrelenting opposition, even to the point of fighting for their liberties. Others disapproved the measures of the British government, but contented themselves with remonstrating against them and petitioning the king.

There were many highly respectable citizens of each community who regarded the agitation against the Trade Acts and the Stamp Tax as the work of "low demagogues" and "worthless fellows" who deserved imprisonment for resisting their king. Such citizens looked with alarm on the growth of democratic government in America. A clergyman in New England prayed that "the monstrously popular constitution" of Connecticut be altered in such a way as to reduce the power of the voters. He rejoiced in the attempts of the king and Parliament to bring all the colonies under "one form of government," and wanted to see bishops of the Established Church put in power in every colony and all charter governments made directly dependent on the king. Thousands of these citizens, "Tories," as they were later called by the Revolutionists, remained loyal to the king to the end. Many lost their property and were driven out of the country.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. Why did England pay more attention to the American colonies after 1763? Why was she anxious to control the trade of colonies? Why were the colonies forbidden to do much manufacturing? Why were settlements toward the west discouraged? 2. State the policies of the English government which the colonists found especially objectionable. 3. To-day duties are levied on many kinds of goods imported into the country and the Federal government has sometimes required stamps to be placed on certain documents, such as wills, contracts, deeds, and bank checks. What are the differences between these forms of taxation and the import and stamp taxes against which the colonists rebelled?

II. 1. What was the "Stamp Act Congress" and why did it assemble? In what other ways did the colonists protest against the stamp taxes? With what results? 2. What were the "Townshend Acts"? What was the effect of these laws upon the colonists? 3. Why did the English government retain the tax upon tea after the other objectionable features of the Townshend Acts had been repealed? Could the English government be justified in retaining the tax for this purpose?

III. 1. Why was the first Continental Congress called? What two important things did it do? 2. What reasons can you give for the statement that the American colonies did not revolt against the English people but rather against the English government?

Review: 1. In what ways do you think that the English government might have avoided war with the colonists? 2. What is "taxation without representation"? Is any one who is not represented now taxed in the United States?

Problems for Further Study

1. The following American patriots were prominent leaders in the colonies during the years just preceding the Revolution. Select one of these men for special study and prepare a talk for the class which will tell what this man did to help the American cause at this critical time: Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, James Otis.

See Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," chs. i and ii (Franklin and Adams); Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book I, pp. 208–225 (Franklin); Book II, pp. 1–23 (Henry and Adams); Brooks's "Stories of the Old Bay State," pp. 109–126 (Otis and Adams); Dudley's "Benjamin Franklin."

2. Imagine yourself living in Boston during the period treated in this chapter. Describe what you might have seen and heard concerning the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party.

See Hart's "Camps and Firesides of the Revolution," pp. 162–166; Hart's "Source Book," p. 137; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," pp. 56–60, 64–69.

3. Perhaps you may be interested in the story of the burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, or in what was done with shipments of tea at Philadelphia or New York. Look up these topics in state histories.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAR FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

I. The Beginning of the Conflict

Lexington and Concord (April 19, 1775). — The first shot of the Revolutionary War was fired in 1775. In April of that year, General Gage, then in command of a large force of British regulars at Boston, sent troops to Concord with orders to destroy the military stores which the Americans had collected there. Little did he dream of the fateful consequences as the British soldiers set out on their march in the dead of night. He thought it would be a simple matter, dispatched with great secrecy, but the patriots in Boston were alert and watchful. Lanterns, hung out in the tower of the old North Church, flashed far and wide the signal that the British were coming, and Paul Revere galloped along the road ahead of them rousing the farmers!

> So through the night rode Paul Revere;
> And so through the night went his cry of alarm
> To every Middlesex village and farm,
> A cry of defiance and not of fear,
> A voice in the darkness, a knock on the door,
> And a word that shall echo for evermore!

When, on the morning of April 19, the British soldiers reached Lexington on their way to Concord, they found drawn up on the village green a band of the American militia — known as "minutemen," because they were prepared to go out at a minute's notice to defend their homes. The British commander ordered them to disperse, but they refused. Then firing began and a few minutemen were killed and wounded. "There on the green, lay in death the grey haired and the young; the grassy field was red 'with the innocent blood of their brethren slain.'"

From an old print

THE RETREAT FROM CONCORD

From behind hedges, trees, and stone walls the "minutemen" poured shot into the retreating British.

With cheers of triumph the British soldiers marched off to Concord, destroyed military stores, rifled some houses, and prepared to return. By this time the whole countryside was aroused. Men and boys came running, singly and in bands, to the road that led from Concord to Boston. At Concord Bridge near the village "the shot heard around the world" was fired, giving the signal for a general conflict.

From behind hedges, trees, and stone walls they poured shot into the retreating British all the way along the road until the tired and harassed survivors reached Charlestown where they were safe under guns of the battleships. Thus, without any previous design, the war for independence was begun. The British had provoked it by the march to Concord. The minutemen had answered.

The Nation Aroused. — When blood was once shed conciliation was more difficult than ever. Only a few months before the battle of Lexington and Concord, Benjamin Franklin, representative of the colonies in England, had said to America's friend, Pitt, "I never heard from any person the least expression of a wish for a separation." In October of the previous year, Washington had written, "No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America." But after April 19, 1775, the tide of opinion began to change. The news of that day spread like wildfire through Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, up the Hudson Valley, down the coast through New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, to Charleston and Savannah.

From all New England, the minutemen with rifles and powder horns began to pour out along the highways and trails to Boston, and in a few days the British troops in that city were completely surrounded. Everywhere, middle and southern colonies, the patriots were preparing for war in behalf of their liberties. In Virginia, Patrick Henry had already called upon his countrymen:

> The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? . . . Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.

In a few weeks the Second Continental Congress, representing all the colonies, met at Philadelphia. Great work lay before it. It was to declare independence, raise armies, make treaties with European powers, and wage war to the end.

THE SPEECH OF PATRICK HENRY

"I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death."

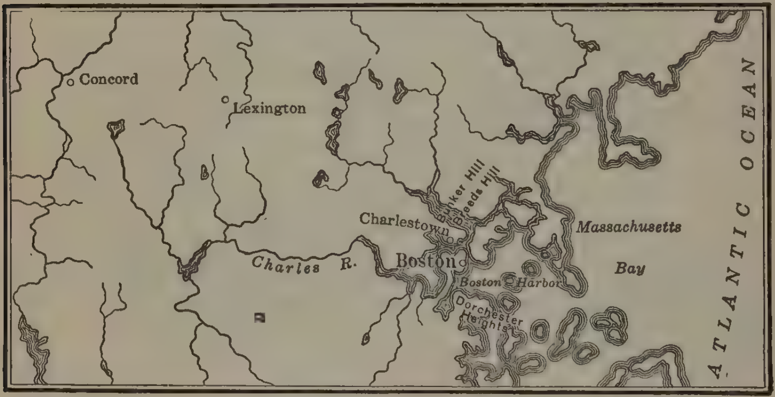
Phases of the War. — The long war thus begun may be divided for the sake of clearness into the following phases:

1. The Northern Campaigns
2. The Middle States Campaigns
3. The Southern Campaigns

Although fighting was going on frequently in various parts of the country at the same time, it seems best to consider the conflicts in the several regions separately.

II. The Northern Campaigns and the Declaration of Independence

The Siege of Boston. — The running fight begun at Concord ended in shutting the British army up in Boston. As you will discover by looking at the map, Boston was then confined to a piece of territory which was almost an island, being connected with the mainland only by a narrow strip of sandy beach. To the northward lay the peninsula of Charlestown, on which there were two heights, Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill. To the southward there was another peninsula where Dorchester Heights overlooked the city of Boston. The British soldiers fortified the narrow strip of land connecting the city with the mainland. The Americans steadily grew in numbers as the militiamen flocked in from every direction; and under the command of General Joseph Warren they occupied the heights in Charlestown.



Boston and Vicinity

The Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775). — On June 17, they were discovered busily fortifying one of the Charlestown hills. The British soldiers at once began to move on the "rebels." Twice the British stormed up the hill only to be swept back again by the terrible fire of the Americans. When they made their third desperate charge they were successful, for the patriots had exhausted their powder and were compelled to flee as best they could. Thus the famous battle of Bunker Hill was fought and won by the British, but at so terrible a cost to them that they wanted no more victories like it.

Washington in Command.—The day before the battle of Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, chose as chief of the American army the Virginian who had played so important a part in Braddock's campaign and who was soon to become one of the famous generals and leaders of the world—George Washington. On July 3, 1775, he formally took command of the army on the Cambridge Common. In his cautious and deliberate manner, he began to prepare the raw and untrained forces under him for serious warfare against the British regulars. First of all he needed supplies, particularly powder.

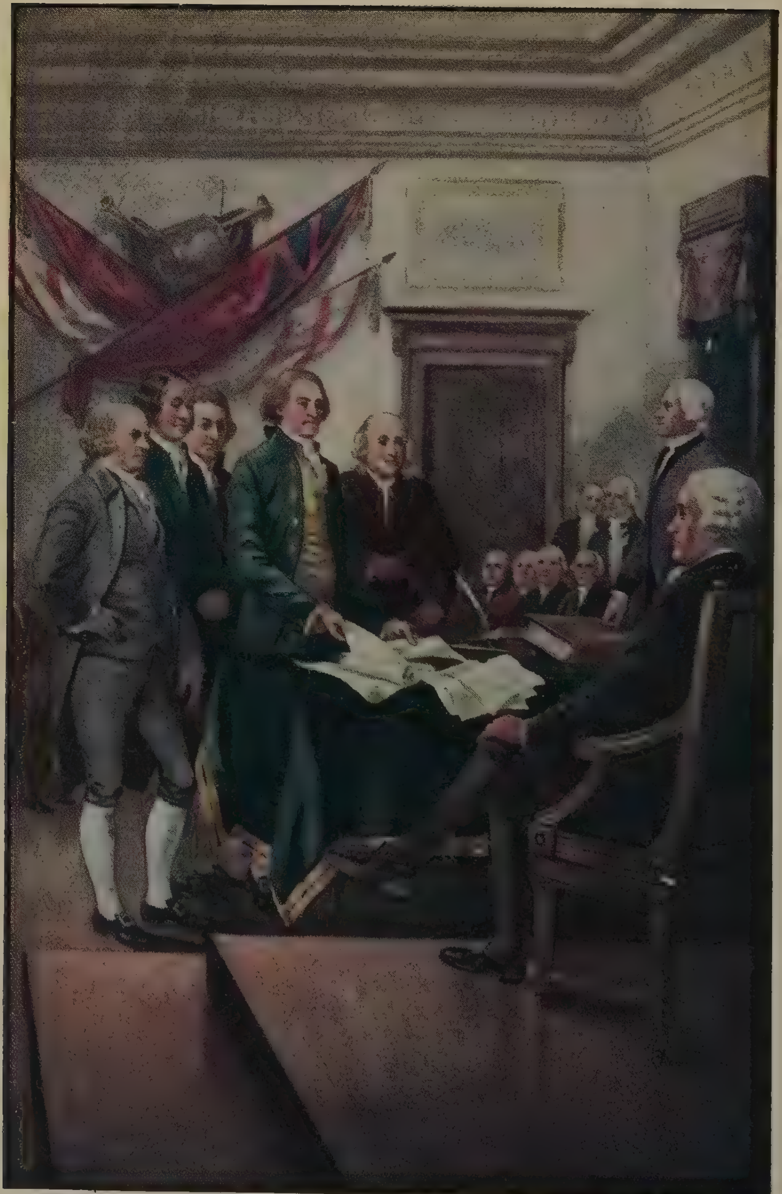
Ethan Allen Takes Crown Point and Ticonderoga.—In this regard he was greatly helped by a brilliant exploit of Ethan Allen and his "Green Mountain Boys." In May, 1775, shortly after the battle of Lexington and Concord, Allen and his men had seized Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga on the west shore of Lake Champlain and got possession of a large stock of military stores, including the coveted powder and many cannon.

Boston Evacuated by the British.—From this source Washington secured a much needed supply of materials, and early in the next year he was ready for action. He occupied Dorchester Heights to the south of Boston, thus completely blocking the British on the land side. The British, realizing their desperate plight, made ready their ships in March, 1776, and sailed away to Halifax, leaving the Americans in possession of the field.

The Quebec Expedition. — While Washington was preparing for this great stroke at Boston, a terrible disaster to American soldiers happened far to the northward. Thinking that the French in Canada would be glad to get rid of British rule, the Americans in the fall of 1775 fitted out two expeditions to invade that country. One under Benedict Arnold made its way through the wilds of Maine to Quebec. The other under Montgomery went up through the Lake Champlain region to the St. Lawrence River, and thence down the river to join Arnold (see map, p. 148). On a day in the dead of winter, when a fierce snowstorm was raging, the Americans attacked the British garrison, but were beaten off with terrible loss. Montgomery was killed; Arnold was badly wounded; and the troops suffered cruelly. This expedition cost in all at least five thousand American soldiers, and put an end to all hopes of stirring up a revolution in Canada.

The Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776). — Notwithstanding the failure in Canada, the British defeat at Boston heartened the Americans, and the Continental Congress, sitting at Philadelphia, decided to issue a Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. At the beginning of the war most of the leaders had announced their loyalty to the mother country and had expressed the hope that good feeling might be established once more. After blood was shed, however, the boldest spirits determined on independence and war to the end. This was a dangerous step. Many of the Americans did not wish to break away from their allegiance to King George and were prepared to resist the declaration of independence by the Continental Congress. Moreover, if the Americans were defeated, the men who declared independence would doubtless be speedily hanged as "traitors."

Thomas Paine's Pamphlet.—It required great courage,



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

then, to take the fateful step. In order to stir the country up to a high fervor in support of independence, Thomas Paine published in January, 1776, his famous pamphlet, "Common Sense," which was sold by the thousands and read in taverns and by the firesides where the people were meeting to talk about the impending conflict. He urged his countrymen to take heart, saying:

> Arms as the last resort decide the contest. . . . The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a City, County, a Province, or a Kingdom; but of a Continent — of at least one eighth part of the habitable Globe. . . . O! ye that love mankind; ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart! O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind!

This was the clear trumpet call for heroic action.

Thomas Jefferson's Work; the Declaration Signed. — Fired by the zeal which animated Paine, and undaunted by paltry fears, the leaders in Congress, acting on the motion of the Virginia delegates, renounced allegiance to their king. The task of drawing up the declaration was given to a young Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, who quickly responded. When his draft was laid before Congress, angry debates ensued. Many were timid and others thought the plan unwise; but at length on July 4, 1776, after some slight changes, it was adopted. The glad tidings of American independence were rung out to the world from the old bell that hung in the belfry of the hall in which Congress sat, and couriers were sent out in every direction bearing copies of the Declaration.

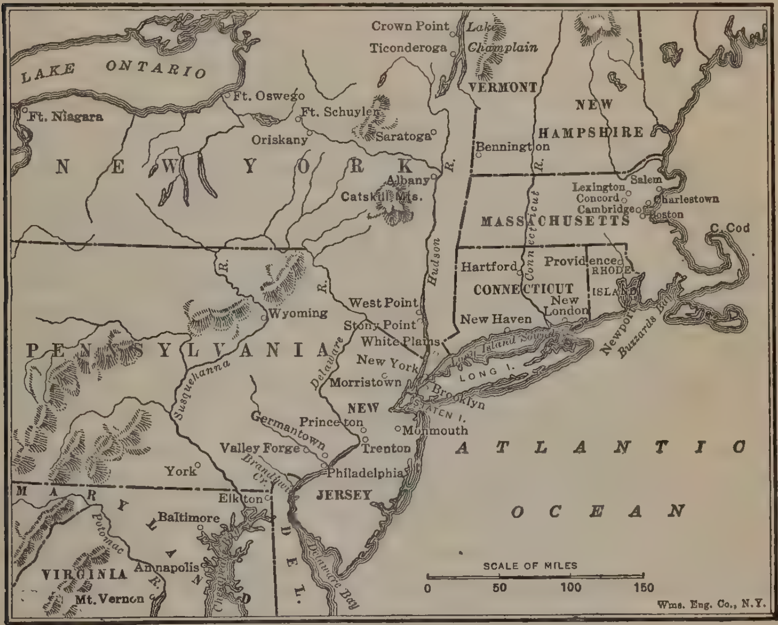
This truly immortal document set forth in a few simple words the lofty principles that all men are created equal and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. They were a prophecy of the future in America, of a better and freer country. They cheered the soldiers who were engaged in a great war, giving their lives that the "nation so conceived and so dedicated" might long endure.

From a recent photograph

INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

III. THE MIDDLE STATES CAMPAIGNS AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

Battles of Long Island and White Plains.—As soon as the British left Boston, Washington with a large body of men set out for New York, where, it was evident, the enemy would make an attack sooner or later. In August, 1776, the British began to land troops on Long Island. In time fortune favored them. They cut the American army into two parts, captured one section of it, and forced the other to retire across the river to New York City. "Our situation," wrote Washington at this time, "is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained . . . has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops and filled their minds with apprehension and despair." From the city the American army retreated rapidly northward to White Plains, where an unsuccessful stand was made against the British. Things now looked dark indeed for the American cause. Hundreds of militiamen, thinking all was lost, deserted and went home. The Continental Congress at Philadelphia was thoroughly frightened. Turning over the entire control of the war to Washington, the members left Philadelphia, where the British soldiers were daily expected.



THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN THE NORTH

Retreat through New Jersey; Victories at Trenton and Princeton (December, 1776). — Although his army was melting away and nearly everybody around him was discouraged, Washington kept faith. After the unhappy conflict in New York, he took a part of his troops across the Hudson River and retreated rapidly southward through New Jersey into Pennsylvania. Having rested his men for a while, Washington made a bold stroke which served to revive the hopes of the downcast Americans. Across the river at Trenton, a few miles away, there was an army of "Hessians"; that is, German soldiers from Hesse who had been hired out by their ruler to George III to fight under British command against the Americans. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington and his men set out in a snowstorm, made their way through the ice floes which swept down the Delaware, and the next morning surprised the British forces at Trenton, capturing more than a thousand prisoners. Leaving campfires burning to mislead other British troops who were coming to the aid of the Trenton forces, Washington hastened away toward Princeton, where he defeated several British regiments on their way south.

These exploits greatly cheered the patriots. The Hessian prisoners were marched through the streets of Philadelphia amid great rejoicing.

Defeats at Brandywine and Germantown; Philadelphia Captured by the British (1777). — Then followed a lull in the fighting, until the news came that the British commander, General Howe, was preparing to capture Philadelphia by an expedition from the direction of the sea. Thereupon Washington sought to prevent the fall of Philadelphia, but his efforts utterly failed. In two battles, Brandywine and Germantown, the Americans were sadly beaten, and the city fell into the hands of the British in the summer of 1777.

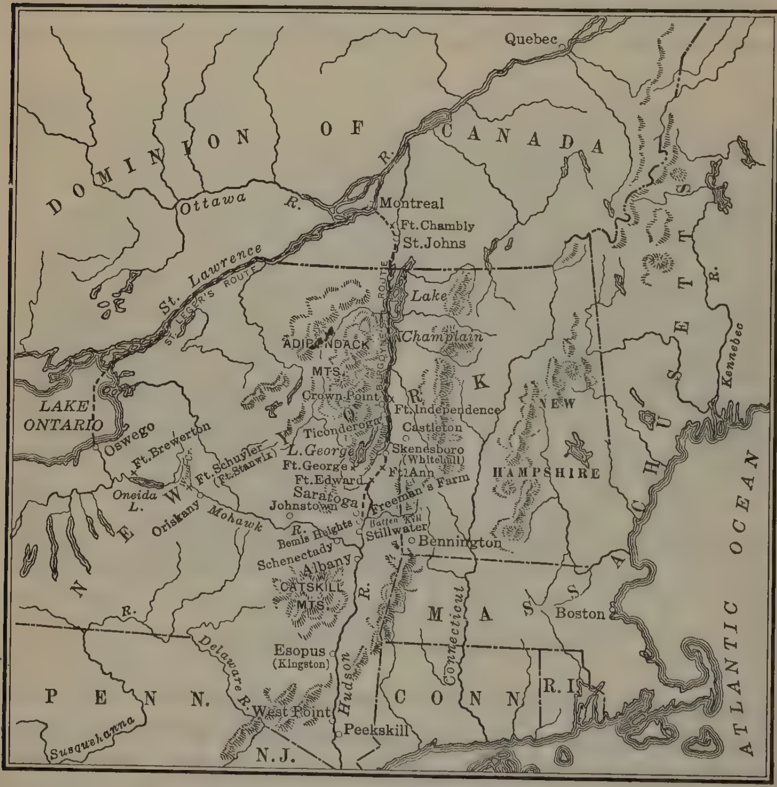
The Winter at Valley Forge (1777–1778). — The winter which followed has been justly called the "darkest hour" in the War for Independence. With his defeated troops Washington withdrew to the northward and went into camp at Valley Forge. The hardships of the men during that dreadful winter cannot be described in words. The soldiers were in rags and were half starved all the time. Hundreds were without shoes and blankets and seldom did they have anything but the coarsest food. Lafayette, the young Frenchman who had come over the sea to dedicate himself to the cause of liberty in America, wrote of Valley Forge:

WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE *From a painting*

"The darkest hour in the War for Independence."

> The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes; their feet and legs froze until they became black. . . . The army frequently remained whole days without provisions, and the patient endurance of both officers and men was a miracle.

Only an undying faith in the justice of their cause and in the wisdom and ability of Washington kept the remnants of an army together. In spite of their hardships, however, they prepared for battle. They drilled regularly and were gradually made into an efficient fighting force, under the direction of Baron Steuben, a German officer who had given his services to the Americans.



BURGOYNE'S EXPEDITION

Burgoyne's Expedition; Bennington and Saratoga (1777).— While the fortunes of war were going against the Americans in Pennsylvania, gains made to the northward had a very decided effect on the outcome of the struggle. It seemed to the British leaders that it would be good strategy to cut New England off from the rest of the country. In June, 1777, they sent General Burgoyne southward by way of Lake Champlain to the headwaters of the Hudson, with a view to taking Albany and later joining Howe in New York. For a time Burgoyne prospered. He captured Ticonderoga and turned to the Hudson Valley. Then his troubles began. A division sent into Vermont to collect supplies was defeated and captured at Bennington by the Vermonters, or "Green Mountain Boys," under General Stark. Food supplies ran low. Finding himself hemmed in by the Americans and seeing no signs of relief from the South, on October 17, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga. The American commander, General Gates, had superseded the real victor, General Schuyler, in time to receive the honors.

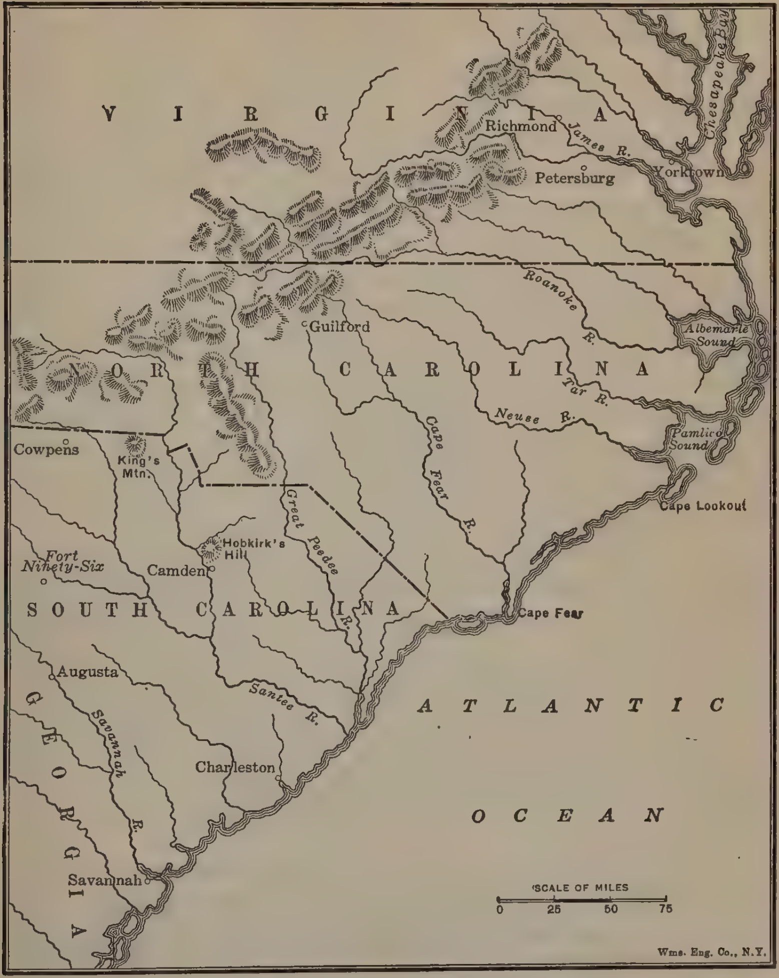
The Alliance with France (1778). — The defeat and surrender of Burgoyne marked a turning point in the War for Independence. As early as December, 1776, the American mission at Paris, headed by Benjamin Franklin, had sought aid from the government of France. Many liberal men in France, men who were preparing the way for the great Revolution so soon to follow in that country, expressed deep sympathy with the American cause and greeted Franklin with warmth and encouragement. But the king, Louis XVI, was cautious. Naturally he was not interested in helping to establish a republic in the New World. He was thinking rather of reducing the power of Great Britain and humbling the country that had twenty-five years before broken the empire of France in India and North America.

When he saw that the American colonists were strong enough to give some promise of winning, he cast his lot with them. In February, 1778, he made a treaty with the

United States agreeing to furnish men, money, warships, and supplies to the struggling young nation. Never was aid more timely. It is generally believed that without the help of France the rule of Great Britain would have been restored in America and the patriots would have paid the penalty meted out to "rebels." We are certain that French aid guaranteed a victory that had before been in doubt.

The British Leave Philadelphia. The Battle of Monmouth (June 28, 1778). — When the British heard of the alliance between France and the United States, they decided to leave Philadelphia and concentrate their forces in New York. On their way northward they were sharply attacked by Washington at Monmouth and would have been decisively defeated if it had not been for the treachery of one of his officers, General Charles Lee. Nevertheless the battle had the effect of a victory and brought the fighting in the North to an end for a time. This enabled Washington to give his attention to the ever present task of strengthening the army and collecting supplies — a task so discouraging that only one with his faith and courage and patience could have met it.

Treason of Benedict Arnold. — To all Washington's difficulties was added the treason of a brave and trusted officer, Benedict Arnold. Arnold had distinguished himself at Quebec and Saratoga, and thought that he was entitled to more rapid promotion than he received. Unable to put aside his feeling that injustice had been done to him, he decided in September, 1780, to betray his country by negotiating with the British for the surrender of West Point, which was under his command. Major André, of the British Army, was selected to carry out the arrangements. He was on his way back to the British lines when he was caught at Tarrytown by the Americans. The fatal papers were found in André's boots and he was hanged as a spy, Washington sternly refusing to grant pardon. Arnold, hearing that his treason was exposed, fled to a British warship in the Hudson



Scene of the Revolutionary War in the South

River. Long afterward he died in neglect in London, dressed, at his own request, in his old American uniform.

IV. THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS; THE WAR ON THE SEA AND IN THE WEST

Southern Resistance to Great Britain. — Although Lexington and Bunker Hill, by long tradition, occupy a high place in the history of the American Revolution, it must not be forgotten that the southern states were equally vigorous with Massachusetts in opposing the policy of Great Britain. In Charleston, South Carolina, patriot bands had been hurriedly formed when the news of the Stamp Act was received, and were quickly revived to resist the tea duty.

As early as 1771, some North Carolina citizens had been hanged for resisting British officers. Nearly a month before the battle of Lexington, Patrick Henry had called his countrymen in Virginia to arms. In May, 1775, a group of patriots in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, had declared their independence by proclaiming that all British military and civil authority was at an end.

Men from the South were side by side with men from the North at Valley Forge, Brandywine, and Monmouth. Although the great ports, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, which were so accessible from the sea, were the objects of special attention on the part of the British, the South was by no means neglected. Indeed, the evacuation of Boston, the defeat at Saratoga, and the retreat from Philadelphia, made holding the South all the more important to King George.

British Capture Savannah and Charleston. — In 1776 a British fleet attacked Charleston, South Carolina, and a vain attempt was made to land forces and capture the city. Two years after this failure the British took Savannah. In 1780 they successfully assaulted Charleston, this time by land. Elated by this victory, their general, Clinton, returned to New York, leaving General

Cornwallis in command, with instructions to overrun and hold the South.

Cornwallis against Greene and Lafayette. — For a while Cornwallis was fortunate. He defeated the Americans under General Gates at Camden; and, in spite of severe losses at King's Mountain and Cowpens, he seemed about to conquer the Carolinas. He defeated General Nathanael Greene at Guilford, North Carolina, in 1781, but so many of his men were killed that he gave up the idea of taking the interior regions. Remaining close to the coast line, Cornwallis marched northward into Virginia in 1781 to attack the Americans assembled there under Lafayette. The British general announced that he was going to capture "the boy," as he called Lafayette.

The Siege of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders. — When Cornwallis marched boldly into Virginia and entrenched his army at Yorktown on the peninsula between the York and the James rivers, he had not calculated on the plans of the French and Americans, now firm allies. France sent over large forces under Rochambeau, which joined Washington's troops near New York, and shortly afterward a strong fleet under De Grasse was dispatched to America. When the news of Cornwallis's operations reached Washington, he decided to take the French and American forces south to meet the new danger, pretending all the time that he was planning to attack the British in New York. Meanwhile the French fleet blockaded Cornwallis on the seaward side.

As a result of this combined expedition Cornwallis was completely surrounded at Yorktown, and on October 19, 1781, compelled to surrender. As the British soldiers marched out to lay down their arms, the bands played the famous old tune, "The World Turned Upside Down," which was entirely fitting. British rule in the United

States was at an end forever, although King George's men still held New York City and Charleston.

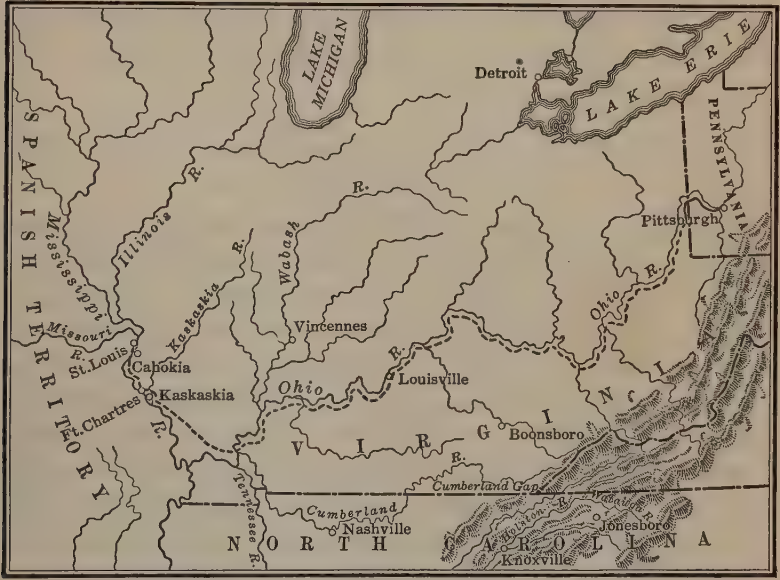
In looking over the achievements of the patriot armies we do not find very many battles won by American soldiers. The British were worn down by long marches and want of supplies as well as by fighting. It was only when they saw the American forces supplemented by French regulars and the French fleet that they gave up the struggle.

War at Sea. *Famous Exploits of John Paul Jones.*— Although the decisive campaigns of the Revolution were along the seaboard, there are two aspects of the war which must not be overlooked. The first of these was the war at sea. Holland and Spain joined France in the war on Great Britain, and pitted their navies against British sea power. The Continental Congress, having no regular navy of its own, granted letters of authority to private shipowners, empowering them to equip vessels of war to prey on British commerce. One famous captain, John Paul Jones, fitted out

From an old print

John Paul Jones with his flagship *Bonhomme Richard* engaged the British frigate *Serapis* in battle, and after a desperate fight captured it.

some vessels in French ports and sailed the coast of England and Scotland, destroying shipping wherever he could find it. In 1779, with his flagship *Bonhomme Richard*, he engaged the British frigate *Serapis* and after a desperate fight captured it. These brave deeds at sea by Jones and other commanders, like Captain John Barry, of equal fame, encouraged the patriots in America, but they contributed little to the final outcome.



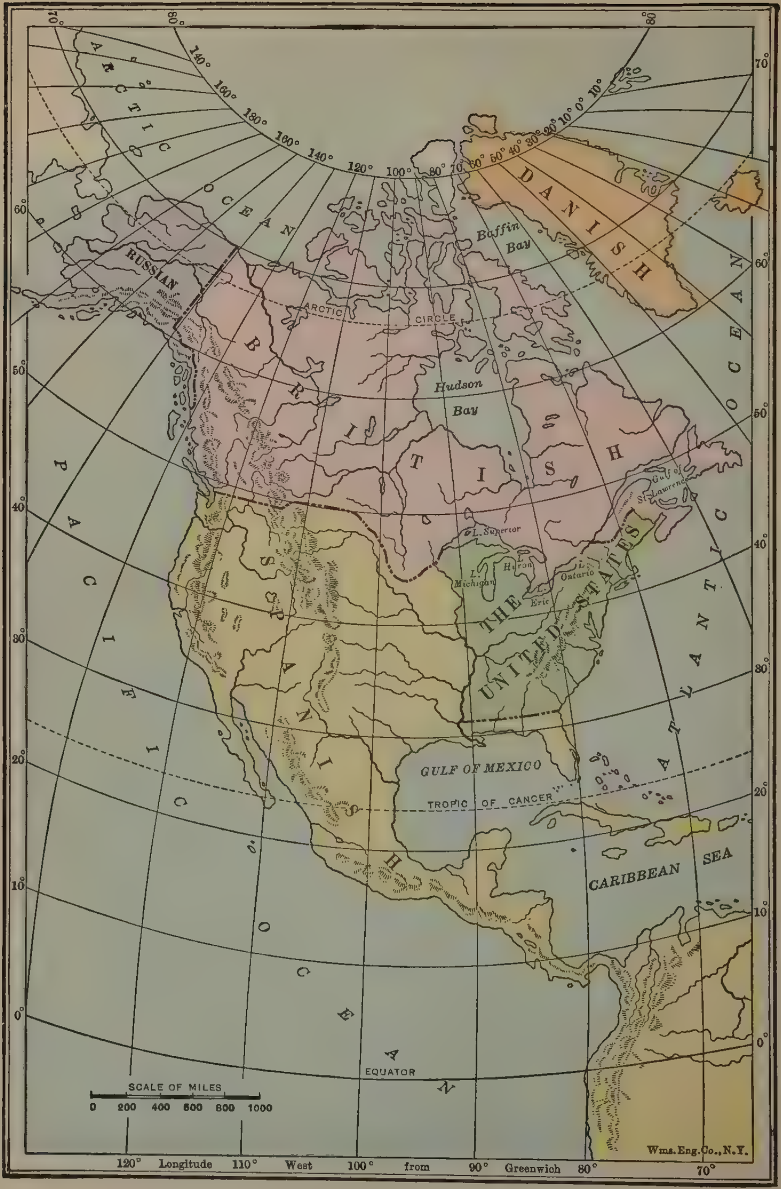
The Expedition of George Rogers Clark

George Rogers Clark in the Great Northwest. — While John Paul Jones was playing his part on the sea, a young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, was playing another beyond the Alleghenies. During many years of exploration beyond the mountains, he had learned the value of that country, and when the war broke out he was determined to save it for the United States by destroying the British posts out there. With some help from the Virginia government and a small body of picked riflemen, he journeyed from the seaboard down the Ohio River and then northward through the Illinois country to Cahokia, taking Kaskaskia on the way. He struck back across the " drowned lands " of Illinois to the British post at Vincennes (Indiana), which he captured without a blow. When the time to negotiate peace came, the Great Northwest was readily claimed for the United States. The French had sown, the British had reaped, the Americans had garnered.

V. The Treaty of Peace; Reasons for the Success of the American Cause

The Treaty of Paris (1783). — It took nearly two years after the victory at Yorktown to complete the peace negotiations. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay were instructed in 1781 to discuss the terms of settlement with the agents of Great Britain at Paris; but it was not until September, 1783, that an agreement was finally reached. By this treaty the independence of the thirteen United States was acknowledged by Great Britain and the boundaries of the new country were laid out. It was agreed that the United States should extend from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River and from the Great Lakes down to the thirty-first parallel of latitude. Canada was retained by the British and Florida was given to the Spaniards, who had joined the French in the war on Great Britain. Thus the United States, endowed with a rich heritage, was admitted to a place among the independent nations of the earth.

Washington. — In the year that peace was concluded, Washington resigned his office as Commander-in-Chief and retired to his beautiful home at Mount Vernon, hoping to enjoy a well-earned rest. For more than thirty years he had carried burdens of civil and military life. In 1751, at



North America according to the Treaty of 1783 the early age of nineteen, he had been appointed to a post in the Virginia army; he had served capably and honorably in the campaigns against the French in the West; he had been a member of the Virginia legislature. When the Revolution broke out he was elected to the Continental Congress and then given the arduous task of commanding the patriot army.

Seldom, if ever, in the history of the world has another man borne such heavy responsibilities. He had to plan and lead in the conduct of battles in the field — that is a general's duty. But Washington did more. He was forced, by the failure of the Congress, to help secure troops, to keep together a straggling army of militiamen and volunteers, to raise money, to collect supplies, to cheer his men by precept and example, and to suffer unnecessary woes with them. Then he had to turn aside from military affairs to guide and lead Congress in the management of public business. In defeat at Long Island, White Plains, Brandywine, and Germantown, Washington never despaired. His courage and faith kept the patriot cause alive when others gave up hope. He was the inspiration of the Revolutionary army.

No wonder that after victory he looked forward to the deep joy of peace at home. But he was not to have rest. Soon he was called away to help draft a Constitution for his country, and then to serve for eight long years as president. In 1797 he laid down his public burdens, only to be summoned, a few months later, to command the army again in view of a threatened break with France. When he died in 1799, the whole nation could truly say that he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Aid from Distinguished Foreigners. — Americans have always cherished the memory of foreign friends who aided them by serving in the armies of the Revolution. From France came Lafayette; from Poland, Kosciuszko; from Bavaria, DeKalb; and from Prussia, Steuben.

The Civilians' Part in the Revolution. *Benjamin Franklin.* — Without detracting from the valor of the men and officers who braved the dangers of the battlefield, we should add that they were not wholly responsible for the glorious outcome. To the able representatives abroad who won for the United States the support of France and the aid of Holland great credit is due. Benjamin Franklin, the printer from Philadelphia, found fame throughout the world as a diplomat, deep thinker, and man of science, and secured the confidence of statesmen in Europe.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Robert Morris.—The civilians also who raised the money and the supplies for the army must not be forgotten. Robert Morris, "the patriot financier" of Pennsylvania, labored day and night with all his great ability to find funds to pay the bills of an almost bankrupt government. If it be said that their efforts were not always successful, it must be remembered that their resources were slight and their trials severe. Finding it impossible to collect enough gold and silver, the Continental Congress and the governments of the states issued large sums of paper money. Such notes were mere promises to pay and fell rapidly in value, until the best of them were only worth a few cents on the dollar. Worthless as this paper was, the farmers and merchants accepted it in return for supplies and trusted to an independent nation to redeem its promises.

The Work of the Women. — Women, too, did their full share. They made munitions, using their pewter dishes and cooking utensils for bullets; they spun and wove and made clothing and hospital supplies; they tilled the fields and garnered the crops while the men were away; they carried supplies to the army, often at the risk of their lives. On Washington's call they gave gold and silver, jewels, and plate to be melted down and turned into coin; they begged money for the army from door to door; they braved their lot as refugees fleeing before British soldiers; and not a few of them even served in the ranks.

The spirit of these women is shown in a letter written at the time by a woman in Philadelphia to a friend in the army:

> I have retrenched every superfluous expense in my table and family; tea I have not drunk since last Christmas nor bought a new cap or gown since your defeat at Lexington; and what I never did before, have learned to knit and am now making stockings of American wool. . . . I have the pleasure to assure you that these are the sentiments of all my sister Americans. They have sacrificed assemblies, parties of pleasure, tea-drinking, and finery to that great spirit of patriotism that actuates all degrees of people throughout this extensive continent.

Maintaining the Armies. — It was hard for the patriots to keep up the military strength of the country. At the opening of the Revolution the armies were composed of men who volunteered for a few months at a time and were always leaving in large bodies just when they were needed most. The Continental Congress, made up of civilians who knew little about war and were afraid of strong military power, did not do anything to mend matters until, confronted with disaster, they saw that the militia system had broken down. Then they yielded to Washington's demand for a standing army of regulars, enlisted for the war and paid, according to a definite understanding, in money and lands. Even this plan was only partly carried out, owing to the jealousy of the states and the dislike of the militiamen for long service. Not once during the Revolution was there an adequate supply of trained men equipped with necessary war materials. Had there been a regular army of half the number of men who actually served in the Revolutionary cause, the war could have been shortened by years. As Washington himself said:

> To bring men to be well acquainted with the duties of a soldier requires time. . . . To expect the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits as from veteran soldiers is to expect what never did and perhaps never will happen.

The Tories. — The trials of the patriots were made all the more difficult by the constant presence of enemies in their midst. As we have pointed out, no small number of Americans were loyal to the king and mother country all during the War. They gave aid and money and supplies to the British commanders at every opportunity. While Washington and his heroic band were freezing and starving at Valley Forge, Tories were wining and dining with British officers in New York and Philadelphia. They laughed to scorn the "low demagogues" and "pettifogging lawyers" — as they called the Revolutionists — who were trying to make a new nation in North America, and they did all the damage they could to the American cause.

Really there was a civil war as well as a revolution, and naturally the most bitter feeling arose between the two parties. The patriots, deeply angered at those who remained loyal to George III, seized their property, imprisoned many, and drove hundreds out of the country.

When at length the war was over, America was free from

British rule; but it was a divided, weakened, and impoverished country. Order had to be restored, many wrongs righted, damages repaired, farms and homes and trade reestablished, and debts paid. A great work lay before the American people when in 1783 the news of final peace spread from hamlet to hamlet. Cheered by the success of the Revolution and inspired by a faith in the future, the country took up its new responsibilities.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Why did the British authorities send troops to Lexington and Concord? How did it happen that the undrilled farmers who responded to the "Lexington alarm" could do so much damage to the British troops?

II. 1. What is meant by a siege? Study the map of Boston and vicinity and explain why the city could be so easily besieged from the land. Could supplies be entirely cut off from the British soldiers in Boston? Why or why not? 2. Why is the battle of Bunker Hill usually looked upon as an American victory, although the earthworks were finally captured by the British troops? 3. What reasons can you give for the action of the British commander in withdrawing his troops from Boston and leaving the city to the Americans? 4. What led the Americans to make the unfortunate attempt to capture Quebec? 5. The war began in April, 1775; the colonists did not declare their independence until more than a year afterward. Explain the reasons for this delay. 6. Who wrote the Declaration of Independence? Read it (see Appendix, p. 647) and tell what arguments impress you as most convincing reasons for breaking away from the mother country.

III. 1. Why did the British, after their failure at Boston, choose New York as their next point of attack? 2. Trace on a map the movements of Washington after the defeat of the Americans at the battle of Long Island. 3. Why were the battles of Trenton and Princeton important victories for the Americans? 4. Note the location of the battle of the Brandywine. Why did the British forces approach Philadelphia from this direction? 5. Locate Valley Forge on the map. Why has the winter at Valley Forge been called the "darkest hour of the Revolution"? 6. What was the aim of the British leaders in planning the Burgoyne expedition? Why was this a more difficult venture for the British troops than the capture of New York and Philadelphia? The battles around Saratoga are recognized as among the most decisive battles of the world's history. Why so important? 7. Who secured the alliance with France? What were the consequences of this alliance? What other foreign aid did the Americans have?

IV. 1. Describe the southern campaigns. 2. Why was the expedition of George Rogers Clark an important event of the war? Trace on a map the route of this expedition. 3. When, where, and how did the active fighting of the Revolution end?

V. 1. When and where was the treaty of peace concluded? What were its terms? 2. What were Washington's greatest services to the cause of American independence? 3. Who was Robert Morris and what part did he play in the Revolution? 4. What name was given to the Americans who sympathized with England in the war? How were these people treated by the American patriots?

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Select one or more of the following topics for further study and for report to the class:

Lexington and Concord: See Coffin's "Boys of Seventy-Six," ch. i; Hart's "Camps and Firesides of the Revolution," pp. 257–260.

The Quebec Expedition: See Coffin's "Boys of Seventy-Six," ch. v.

The Capture of Stony Point: See Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 81–89; Coffin's "Boys of Seventy-Six," ch. xxiii; Hart's "Camps and Firesides of the Revolution," pp. 283–285.

King's Mountain: See Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales," pp. 71–78; Coffin's "Boys of Seventy-Six," ch. xxviii.

The Expedition of George Rogers Clark: See Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales," pp. 31–41; McMurry's "Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley," ch. viii.

2. Tell the story of the drafting and signing of the Declaration of Independence.

See Elson's "Side Lights on American History," vol. i, ch. i; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 147–149.

3. Find some of the events in the early life of Washington that fitted him for his great task as leader of the army in the Revolution.

See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 24–47; Parkman's "Struggle for a Continent," pp. 335–337, 343–350; Wilson's "George Washington," chs. ii, iii.

4. Each member of the class may look up the story of some other hero of the Revolutionary War not treated in detail in this chapter and report on it to the class: as Lafayette, Ethan Allen, Nathan Hale, Philip Schuyler, Nathanael Greene, Daniel Morgan, John Paul Jones, John Barry.

See Crow's "Lafayette," Tooker's "John Paul Jones," Root's "Nathan Hale," etc.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

While the patriots were busy with the problems of war, they also sought to establish lasting governments for the states and the new nation. In fact, some time before the Declaration of Independence, the Continental Congress advised the several colonies to set up governments of their own. On the very day that Congress selected the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, it also chose another committee to draw up a plan for the permanent union of all the states.

This was a difficult task. Being engaged in a terrible struggle to throw off British rule, the colonists were in no mood to establish another "strong government" which might follow the example of Parliament and interfere too much with their local affairs. During the entire Revolutionary War, there was no vigorous national government binding together all the states. Had there been such a government, armies and supplies could have been raised with ease and the war brought to a quicker end. The states were jealous of local freedom and jealous of one another, and the Continental Congress was given little power except over foreign affairs.

I. The Articles of Confederation and the First State Constitutions

The Articles of Confederation, 1781. — This fear of a strong central government made the members of Congress hesitate a long time before adopting the plan of union which was drawn up by the committee under the title of the "Articles of Confederation." Not until late in 1777 was the scheme agreed to and sent to the states for their approval, or ratification. The states debated the matter a long time before they would give their consent to the Articles, but finally by 1781 all of them had agreed to the plan and it was put into effect.

Weakness of the Articles. — This was thought to be a great victory, but in a little while dissatisfaction arose with the Articles of Confederation. The objections were, in the main, as follows:

1. There was no president with power to enforce the laws of the Congress throughout the United States.

2. The Congress represented states; it did not directly represent the people. Although each state could send from two to seven delegates to the Congress it had only one vote there; that is, the little state of Delaware had the same power as the big state of Virginia.

3. The Congress had no power to raise money and soldiers directly; it could only call upon the states to furnish their respective shares, or "quotas" as they were called. The states under this plan often refused to meet the demands of Congress. Consequently the national government could not secure enough men for the army or raise money to pay the interest on the debt incurred in the war. Congress could not conscript the individual citizens of any state or tax them directly.

4. The Congress had no power to regulate commerce between the states and with foreign countries, so that business, manufacturing, and trade were at the mercy of the state governments and also of foreign countries. One state could tax goods coming in from another state. When a foreign country made an unjust law against American trade, Congress was powerless to reply — except in words.

5. There were few prohibitions imposed by the Articles on the states and each state legislature was a law unto itself.

New Constitutions in the Several States. — While the patriots were planning a union of the states, they also proceeded to draft constitutions for their respective state governments. In Connecticut and Rhode Island this was not a difficult problem, because all they had to do was to strike the king's name out of their charters and go on as before, electing members of the legislature, governors, and other officers. In the colonies where the governor had been the proprietor, namely Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, or where he had been appointed by the king, as in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and all the colonies south of Maryland, it was necessary to make complete plans for government. So in these states the revolutionists drew up written constitutions setting forth the scheme of government which they thought desirable.

Provisions of the First State Constitutions. — The most interesting features of these new governments, framed in the several states in the year of the Declaration of Independence or soon afterward, were as follows:

1. Being afraid of royal and proprietary governors, the constitution makers in nearly every state decided to have the governor subject to the orders of the legislature. Only in New York and Massachusetts was the governor made elective by popular vote. Generally he was chosen by the legislature and not given many powers. In Massachusetts alone did the governor have the sole power to veto laws made by the legislature.

2. In all the states, except Pennsylvania and Georgia, the legislature was composed of two houses: a senate, which took the place of the old colonial council; and an assembly, or lower house, modeled after the colonial assembly.

3. Often these first constitutions provided that only men

who were worth a stated amount of money or held certain religious opinions could be elected to office. For example, the governors of North Carolina and Massachusetts had to be worth £1000, the governor of Maryland, £5000, and the governor of South Carolina, £10,000.

4. In nearly all states the right to vote was restricted to men who owned property of a stated value or paid taxes. Many men were dissatisfied with a plan which deprived them of the vote, and within a few years there was a widespread agitation for white manhood suffrage.

Not a few leading women were likewise dissatisfied. In March, 1776, Mrs. Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, wrote to her husband in the Continental Congress, asking him to use his influence in favor of equal rights for women. Two years later, 1778, Mrs. Corbin, sister of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, presented her own petition for the right to vote. Only one state, however, granted women this right, namely, New Jersey, and this was taken away a few years later by the legislature.

II. Government under the Confederation; the Constitutional Convention

Growing Discontent with the Government. — Although a great many people, probably a majority, were fairly well satisfied with the Articles of Confederation, several groups, particularly in the towns along the seaboard, were thoroughly discontented.

1. All men who wanted to see the national government strong at home and respected by other countries demanded reform.

2. Those to whom the government owed money were dissatisfied, because they did not receive any interest on their bonds and saw their chances of getting the principal growing slighter every day.

3. The manufacturers were aggrieved, because there was no tariff to protect their small industries against English competition, which became very keen after the Revolution.

4. Men engaged in trade and commerce were discontented, because Great Britain had made laws against them, and the government of the United States could not strike any blows in return against British trade to bring that country to terms.

5. Business men were distressed, because the legislatures of the states made so much paper money that the debtors could pay their debts in cheap paper. In fact, in Massachusetts, a real civil war broke out because the money lenders foreclosed so many mortgages and took hundreds of farms away from debtors. Some farmers, headed by Daniel Shays, started a rebellion which almost overturned the government of the state and was put down only by very strong measures. Truly the early days of our own republic, as of all other republics, were full of troubles.

Demand for a Stronger Government. — The government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation was in danger of falling to pieces. A few persons began to talk seriously of choosing a king strong enough to make the government feared and respected at home and abroad. Others, including Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, urged the formation of a new government. Washington in a private letter said that disaster awaited if they continued to rely upon "a half-starving, limping government, tottering at every step"; but he indignantly rejected a suggestion that he become king himself.

The Ordinance of 1787. — Almost the only great piece of work done by the government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation was to prepare the western country beyond the Alleghenies for settlement. These regions, which had been claimed by states along the seaboard, were given to the general government on condition that they should be disposed of for the benefit of all and formed later into separate states.

In 1784 Thomas Jefferson proposed in Congress a measure for the government of the western territory, and in 1787 Congress adopted the famous "Northwest Ordinance" or plan of government to be put into effect in that district. This celebrated document provided that (1) in due time states should be created in the Northwest Territory, (2) slavery should be forever prohibited there, and (3) all settlers there should enjoy religious freedom. Another important law, enacted in 1785, provided that one section (or 640 acres of land) in each township of thirty-six sections should be set apart for the maintenance of schools in the township.

Washington was indignant at the receipt of the letter inviting him to become king.

The Constitutional Convention (1787). — The year before the adoption of the Northwest Ordinance, there was held at Annapolis a conference of delegates from five states to discuss matters of trade and commerce and reform in the national government. There were so few delegates present that it was decided not to undertake any radical changes. The Annapolis convention, therefore, merely recommended that Congress call a second convention for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.

Congress complied with this request and in February, 1787, invited the states to send representatives to Philadelphia. The legislatures of all the states except Rhode Island responded by choosing delegates. When the convention met it was found to contain many of the ablest men of the nation: Hamilton of New York; Washington, Madison, and Randolph of Virginia; George Read of Delaware; Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, from Connecticut; Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania; General Charles Coatesworth Pinckney of South Carolina; and General Davie of North Carolina. Jefferson was not a member; he was away at Paris as the minister of the United States. The Constitutional Convention sat behind closed doors from May to September, 1787, and after many stormy debates, which more than once threatened to end in complete disagreement, a new plan of government — the Constitution of the United States — was adopted.

III. THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS ADOPTION

The Compromises of the Constitution. — The chief disputes in the convention were between the large and the small states, between the commercial states of the North and the agricultural and slave states of the South, and between those who wished to give large power to the masses of the people and those who wished to limit this power.

1. *The Compromise between the Large and the Small States.* — The small states, Connecticut, Delaware, and New Jersey, were unwilling to surrender their equal vote in the Congress, and the large states, Virginia and Massachusetts, were determined not to give an equal power to the little states. So a deadlock arose and there seemed no way out until it was finally suggested that the states should all be equal in one house of Congress — the Senate — and that all states should be represented according to population in the lower house, the House of Representatives.

2. *Representation of Slaves.* — In connection with this subject a contest arose as to whether slaves should be regarded as "people" in apportioning taxes and representatives among the states according to population. A compromise according to an old plan was adopted, whereby three fifths of the slaves should be counted for this purpose.

3. *Commerce and the Slave Trade.* — The third big controversy was over commerce. The North wanted to give Congress the power to regulate trade. The South was afraid that laws might be made for the benefit of the northern shipowners and manufacturers, to the injury of southern farmers and planters, and that the slave trade might be abolished. After much argument it was agreed that Congress should have the power to regulate foreign as well as interstate commerce, but that the slave trade should not be abolished before 1808. It was further agreed that the President might negotiate treaties, including, of course, commercial agreements with foreign countries, but that a two-thirds vote in the Senate should be necessary to ratification.

4. *The Problem of Electing Congress and the Federal Officers.* — There was also no little discussion in the

convention as to what share the voters should have *directly* in the government. There were some members who thought that the mass of men should have as little to do with the government as possible, and nearly all were agreed that too many popular elections were dangerous things. Out of the debate over this matter the members of the convention came to this agreement:

(1) that the only branch of the government to be elected directly by the voters should be the House of Representatives — the qualifications for voters to be the same as those fixed by the states for voters for the lower houses of their legislatures;

(2) that the Senators should be elected, not by the voters directly, but by the legislatures of the respective states;

(3) that the President should be chosen by "electors" who were, in turn, to be chosen in such manner as the legislatures of the states might direct;

(4) that the Supreme Court, which has the power to declare null and void acts of Congress that are contrary to the Constitution, should be chosen by the President and Senate — the two branches of the government not elected immediately by popular vote.

The Constitution Contrasted with the Articles of Confederation. — The great changes which the Constitution made in the plan of government set forth in the Articles of Confederation were as follows:

1. The Articles provided for no executive at all, but left the enforcement of the laws to the Congress of the United States and to the good will of the several states. The Constitution declared that there should be a President who should supervise the execution of the federal laws throughout the union, and see that they were obeyed.

2. The Articles provided for a Congress composed of one house in which each state had one vote and no

more. The Constitution arranged for two houses as above described.

3. Under the Articles there was no federal judicial system to decide disputes between citizens and between states arising under the Constitution and the federal laws. The Constitution provided that there should be one supreme court and such additional federal courts as Congress might deem necessary.

4. The Articles could be amended only with the consent of all the states, whereas the Constitution provided for amendment by a two-thirds vote of Congress or by a national convention, subject to the approval of three fourths of the states.

The Four Important Powers of Congress. — While setting up a government composed of a Congress of two houses to make laws, a single President to carry them into effect, and a judiciary to interpret them, the Constitution gave to the Congress the right to make national laws on certain important matters (see Appendix, pp. 654–655). Among the new powers conferred on Congress, four are of special importance, namely:

(1) to lay and collect taxes without asking the help of state governments;

(2) to raise and support armies and naval forces directly without calling on the states for permission;

(3) to regulate trade and commerce with foreign countries and between the states;

(4) to do all things necessary and proper to carry into effect the powers conferred by the Constitution.

Thus the federal government was given the very powers necessary to make it strong at home and abroad. It could raise money to pay its debts, give protection to American manufacturing and commerce, defend the country against foreign foes, and suppress disorders at home, such as had occurred in Massachusetts. In addition to conferring these large powers on the federal government, the new Constitution forbade the states to make paper money and to do several other things which had been disturbing to business (see Appendix, pp. 651–664).

The Struggle over the Adoption of the Constitution. — When at length, in September, 1787, the Philadelphia convention finished its work and published to the country the new scheme of government, the greater task of securing its adoption yet remained. The convention had proposed that the Constitution should be submitted for approval or disapproval to a convention in each state, elected by the voters thereof, and that when nine states had ratified it, the new federal government should be established.

As soon as the call for the elections was issued, there ensued a bitter political campaign. The farmers and the debtors seem to have been chief among the opponents of ratification. They declared that the states were in danger of losing their liberties and that the federal government would become tyrannical. The supporters of the Constitution came mainly from the towns which were the centers of trade, commerce, and finance. They argued that the republic was in mortal danger of ruin owing to the weakness of the government. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote a series of remarkable articles for the newspapers in defense of the Constitution. These were afterward reprinted as "The Federalist" — destined to become celebrated as one of the greatest treatises on government ever written in any language. Washington wrote to his friends all over the country begging them to help secure the adoption of the Constitution.

The Elections. — New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia quickly ratified the Constitution with little or no opposition; but in all the other states there were sharp political contests. In three leading states, New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, the battle was especially hot. In the first of these, the opponents of the Constitution won a large majority of the delegates to the state convention, and in the other two the decision was so close that the outcome was uncertain. New York agreed only on the understanding that a new convention be called to amend the Constitution. Virginia, Massachusetts, and other states demanded important amendments. By dint of the hardest labor, enough

Washington took the oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall near Trinity Church in New York City.

states had been won by the summer of 1788 to put the new government into force. Rhode Island and North Carolina at first rejected the Constitution altogether, and it was not until they saw they would be in a dangerous position outside of the Union that they decided to come into the fold.

Great as was the excitement over the elections, only about one fourth of the white men took part in them, either because they were excluded by property qualifications on the franchise (see page 167), or because they were indifferent.

Washington the First President (1789). — When the news of the adoption of the Constitution by the required number of states was received in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, bells were rung, cannon fired, and grand processions were held in the streets. It was agreed everywhere that Washington — "the first, the last, and the best" — should be President under the Constitution; so he was elected without a dissenting vote. In the spring of 1789, he took the oath of office in New York City, and the new government, which had been wrung from a reluctant nation, set out on its great experiment.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. How was the government of the United States carried on during the Revolution? What important powers did the central government lack at this time? What were the principal weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation? 2. In what ways did the new state constitutions safeguard the rights of the people as a whole against the possibility of a tyrannical government? In what ways were the rights to vote and to hold office restricted by the state constitutions? Why was this policy followed?

II. 1. What were the important provisions of the Ordinance of 1787? What states were later carved out of the Northwest Territory? 2. Why was the Constitutional Convention called?

When and where did it assemble? How was it made up? Who were some of the prominent leaders in the convention?

III. 1. What is meant by a compromise? 2. What were the most important disputes with regard to the proposed constitution? How were these disputes settled? (The preamble of the Constitution should be memorized. Especial study should be made of the powers of the Congress [Article 1, Section 8], and the limitations of the powers of the Congress [Article 1, Section 9].)

Problems for Further Study

1. The period between 1783 and 1789 is sometimes called the "Critical Period" of American history. Why?

2. Find out what part each of the following statesmen played in the constitutional convention: Washington, Hamilton, Madison. See Elson's "Side Lights on American History," vol. i, ch. ii; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," pp. 151–178; Wilson's "George Washington," pp. 257–262.

3. Make a list of the provisions of the Constitution that were made necessary by the existence of slavery.

Outline for Review of the Struggle for Independence and the Founding of the New Nation (Chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX)

I. The condition of the colonies on the eve of the Revolution.
  A. Elements of strength in the colonies.
    1. The development of the spirit of independence and self-reliance.
    2. The growth of the population.
    3. The development of farming.
    4. The beginnings of manufacturing.
      a. Manufacturing in the home.
      b. The iron industry.
      c. Shipbuilding.
    5. The development of trade and commerce.
    6. The principal cities.
  B. Differences between the North and the South.
    1. Differences in surface and climate and their relation to differences in social life and customs.

    2. Local self-government in New England: the town as the unit of government.
    3. The larger units of government in the middle colonies.
    4. The county as the unit in the South.
  - *C.* Likenesses between the North and the South.
    1. Few differences in language, religion, and laws.
    2. Representative government common to both sections.
  - *D.* Education in the colonies.

- II. Causes of the American Revolution.
  - *A.* The attempt of England to control American trade.
    1. Objectionable laws enforced by England after the Seven Years' War.
    2. Other objectionable policies of England.
       - *a.* The decree limiting westward expansion.
       - *b.* The Stamp Tax.
  - *B.* The protest of the colonies against taxation without representation.
    1. Patrick Henry's speech.
    2. The Stamp Act Congress.
    3. The Stamp Act repealed.
  - *C.* More vigorous protests following the passage of the Townshend Acts.
    1. The Boston Massacre.
    2. The Boston Tea Party.
    3. The First Continental Congress.
  - *D.* English friends of America: Pitt and Burke.

- III. The War for Independence.
  - *A.* The beginning of the struggle.
    1. Lexington and Concord.
    2. The Second Continental Congress.
  - *B.* The northern campaigns.
    1. The siege of Boston and the battle of Bunker Hill.
    2. Washington assumes command of the army.
    3. Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

    4. The evacuation of Boston by the British.
    5. The Quebec expedition.
  C. The Declaration of Independence.
  D. The middle states campaigns.
    1. Occupation of New York City by the British forces.
    2. Washington's retreat through New Jersey.
    3. The battles of Trenton and Princeton.
    4. Occupation of Philadelphia by the British forces.
    5. The winter at Valley Forge.
    6. The Burgoyne expedition: Bennington and Saratoga.
  E. The French alliance.
  F. The southern campaigns.
    1. Capture of Savannah and Charleston.
    2. Cornwallis's campaign in the South.
      a. Camden.
      b. King's Mountain and Cowpens.
      c. Guilford.
    3. The siege of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis.
  G. The war at sea: John Paul Jones and John Barry.
  H. The war in the Mississippi Valley: George Rogers Clark's expedition and the capture of Vincennes.
  I. The Treaty of Paris.
  J. Some of the causes of American success in the war.
    1. Washington's character, skill, and leadership.
    2. Franklin's diplomacy.
    3. The work of Robert Morris in financing the war.
    4. The work of the women.

IV. The "Critical Period" between 1781 and 1789: the Constitution.
  A. Government under the Continental Congress during the Revolution.
  B. The Articles of Confederation proposed (1777) and adopted (1781).
  C. New constitutions of the states and their principal provisions.

- *D.* Government under the Articles of Confederation.
  - 1. Discontent throughout the country: Shays's Rebellion.
  - 2. The Ordinance of 1787 the most important legislation under the Articles of Confederation.
- *E.* The Constitutional Convention.
- *F.* The Constitution.
  - 1. Its compromises.
    - *a.* Between large and small states.
    - *b.* Regarding the counting of slaves in apportioning representatives.
    - *c.* Regarding commerce and the slave trade.
    - *d.* Regarding the direct share of the voters in the government.
  - 2. Contrasts between the Constitution and The Articles of Confederation.
  - 3. The four important powers of Congress.
- *G.* The adoption of the Constitution.
- *H.* Washington the first President.

Important names:

STATESMEN AND LEADERS IN CIVIL LIFE		MILITARY AND NAVAL LEADERS	
American	English	American	English
Patrick Henry	William Pitt	Washington	Howe
Samuel Adams	Edmund Burke	Greene	Cornwallis
James Otis		Gates	
Benjamin Franklin		Schuyler	French
Robert Morris		Jones	Lafayette
Thomas Jefferson			Rochambeau
James Madison			
Alexander Hamilton			

Important dates: 1765; 1775; July 4, 1776; 1777; 1778; 1781; 1783; 1787; 1789.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST GREAT POLITICAL CONTEST

I. STARTING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

When the federal government began operations in 1789, the treasury was empty, debts were piling up, and the army was falling to pieces. Trying problems lay before President Washington, his advisers, and Congress. Revenues had to be raised, departments of government organized, a Supreme Court and other federal courts created, a national monetary system established, and relations with foreign countries adjusted. Moreover, it was necessary to allay the fears of those who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution on the ground that it was "dangerous to the liberties of states and citizens."

The First Amendments to the Constitution. — Among the first objections advanced by the opponents of the Constitution was that there were no express limitations in favor of personal freedom and the rights of states. In order to meet this objection, the first Congress passed a set of amendments to the Constitution, ten of which were soon ratified by the states and became a part of the law of the land (see page 660). These new clauses provided (1) that Congress could make no laws interfering with freedom of religious worship, freedom of speech and press, and the right to assemble and petition the government. They also provided (2) for indictment by grand jury and trial by jury in all cases of persons charged by the federal officers with serious crimes. (3) The ninth and tenth amendments were designed to reassure those who had fears for the rights of states and the people. The eleventh amendment, adopted in 1798, was also written in the same spirit, because it was intended to prevent the federal courts from hearing suits brought by citizens against "sovereign states."

Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton's Measures. — All these declarations of rights, however, contributed little to setting the national house in order. That called for financial genius, and Washington found it in Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury. Hamilton's plans for the new government were embodied in famous reports to Congress.

1. *The New Government Adjusts the War Debts.* — One of the first things Hamilton proposed was that the new federal government should call in all the certificates, bonds, and other "promises to pay" which had been issued by the Continental Congress during the Revolution in return for money and supplies necessary to carry on the war. He wanted the government to put the entire national debt into one lump sum and issue new bonds, payable some time in the future and drawing interest until paid. This process was called "funding" the debt.

Hamilton's second proposal was that the federal government should "assume" the debts which had been incurred by the several states in carrying on the war; that is, take over those debts, add them to the already large national debt, and "fund" them also. Hamilton declared that the government was honor-bound to pay the entire debt at its full value and thus restore its credit at home and abroad.[1]

These proposals were attacked, especially by southern members of Congress, who urged that most of the debt had been bought up by speculators at a few cents on the dollar. Opponents of the plan said that it was unjust to the persons who had originally lent money or sold supplies to the government, and unjust to the tax-payers, to give a dollar to a speculator in return for a certificate for which he had paid only ten or twenty cents. It was also said, with truth, that some members of the Congress had themselves held, or had bought for speculation, this depreciated paper, and were profiting by the transaction.

It was urged against the assumption of state debts that it would weaken the states and strengthen the national government by making the bondholders look to the latter for the payment of the interest and principal of the debt. The farmers were afraid that the holders of the bonds would become a "great money power" to which they would have to pay tribute from the produce of their land.

The Compromise between North and South.—So strong was the opposition to the assumption of the state debts that Congress was deadlocked over the matter for a long time. Some of the northern men threatened to break up the Union if the southern Congressmen would not consent to Hamilton's plan. Things became so serious that at the request of Hamilton, Jefferson, who was Secretary of State, arranged a dinner at which the leaders on both sides came together and reached a compromise. It was agreed that enough southern members would vote for assumption to carry it in Congress, and that northern members would, in return, vote for a law locating the new capital of the country on the banks of the Potomac River.

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[1] It was provided that most of the continental currency or paper money could be "funded" at the rate of one cent on the dollar. That is, if a man had $100 in paper money, he could get a new $1 government bond. Few took the trouble to do this, and so the worthless "continentals" simply disappeared.

As a part of the "trade" it was agreed, in exchange for Pennsylvania votes in favor of assumption, to locate the capital at Philadelphia for ten years before transferring it to the new city of Washington on the Potomac. The bargain was carried out to the letter. The capital was transferred from New York to Philadelphia in 1790, and then to Washington in 1800. By this trade the entire war debt was "funded" by Congress.

2. *The United States Bank.* — Hamilton's next plan was for a great United States bank empowered to issue money. The business men of the country, in attempting to carry on trade with all sections, were exasperated beyond measure by many kinds of state notes and coins, which had varying values in different cities. They wanted a currency that would have uniform value in all regions from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Savannah, Georgia.

The bank was also bitterly attacked in Congress. The farmers and planters viewed it as another part of the scheme to build up a "money power"; but, in spite of their opposition, the bank was founded in 1791 and branches were soon started in all important cities.

3. *The Protective Tariff.* — Hamilton's third plan was for a special duty or "protective tariff" on manufactured goods coming into the United States from foreign countries. He argued that if no duty were charged on such articles, American factory owners who were just getting a small start in business could not compete with the old and established concerns of England because they could not sell as cheaply.

The protective tariff was sharply criticized, especially by Congressmen from the South. They held that the farmers would have to pay the tax. If there was no tariff, it was said, they could sell their wheat, corn, cotton, and other produce abroad and import cheap manufactures in return. If there was a tariff, they would have to add the tax to the European prices of the articles which they bought. In spite of the criticism, however, the very first revenue law passed by the first Congress was drawn up partly for the purpose of protecting American manufactures — at least by moderate taxes laid on imported goods.

Hamilton's Measures Violently Opposed. — In the battle over these great measures it was clear, first, that very many men were bitterly opposed to them; and, secondly, that the strongest opposition came from the farming regions, particularly of the South. The friends of the measures were to be found in the larger cities like Boston, Providence, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. It took very clever management on the part of Hamilton to secure enough favorable votes in Congress to enact these laws, and even after they were passed opponents kept up their criticism.

At length Thomas Jefferson, who was Secretary of State under President Washington, openly joined Hamilton's political enemies. Jefferson had assisted in the compromise which resulted in the funding and assumption of the debt, but he had violently opposed the bank. For a while he continued to hold office under Washington, even though he was an outspoken critic of the government. In 1793 he resigned and retired to his estate in Virginia, where he assumed the leadership of those who were opposed to Hamilton's program.

The Whisky Rebellion. — Opposition to the government broke out in an armed revolt in 1794, known as the Whisky Rebellion. In order to meet the interest on the great public debt, and to pay the expenses of the government, a tax had been laid on whisky. This angered the farmers of the western districts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, many of whom turned their grain into whisky. When the government placed a tax on it, the farmers resented this action. In Pennsylvania some of them sacked and burned the houses of the tax collectors, just as the Revolutionists thirty years before had mobbed the British agents sent over to collect the stamp tax. Washington and Hamilton were prompt in calling out the troops and the affair passed off without much bloodshed. Nevertheless, it made many farmers criticize the federal government more severely than ever.

The Rise of the Two Great Political Parties. — Out of these controversies there grew two great political parties. Those who supported Hamilton's measures — which were in fact the measures of the new federal government — were called "Federalists." Those who opposed them were called "Anti-Federalists," or "Republicans." The Federalists were accused of being in sympathy with Great Britain — of being "monarchists." On this account, the Anti-Federalists took the simpler title of "Republicans" to indicate their hatred of everything that savored of monarchy.

1. *Federalist Policy.* — Hamilton was the leader of the Federalists. He believed in making the national government strong, and in using it to protect commerce and industry against foreign competition. He wanted to build up in America an industrial as well as agricultural nation.

2. *Anti-Federalist Policy.* — Jefferson was the leader of the Anti-Federalists. He wanted to strengthen state rather than federal government. He thought that a free government could long endure only where the mass of the people were independent farmers owning their own land, and he deliberately made himself the spokesman of what he called "the landed interest." He opposed turning the United States into a manufacturing nation, because he believed that the

"mobs of the great cities add just so much to the support of pure government as sores do to the strength of the human body." The contest between Hamilton and Jefferson was therefore a contest over two ideals of government.

II. Relations with Europe

The French Revolution (1789). — While this division into political parties was taking place in the United States, momentous events were happening in Europe. A few weeks after Washington was first inaugurated, in 1789, the French king had been forced to call a national parliament. Three years later there occurred a popular uprising in France and a republic was established. The following year the king and queen, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, were executed. The townspeople and peasants overthrew the monarchy, nobility, and clergy (see pp. 10–13). They drew up constitutions for their own government, and proclaimed principles of liberty which shook the thrones of Europe. Thus the French, who had borrowed much from the American Revolutionists, joined in spirit the new Republic across the sea. At the same time a war broke out between England and France, which was destined to last, with a slight intermission, until the final overthrow of Napoleon in 1815.

In America the Republicans approved the French Revolution, and applauded France in her war against Great Britain. Moreover, they had not forgotten that in the dark hours of the American Revolution France had helped with men and money.

Troubles with England. — Although the Federalists wanted to keep out of the European conflict, American commerce abroad involved the country in grave difficulties. England claimed the right to seize American produce bound for French ports and American ships engaged in carrying

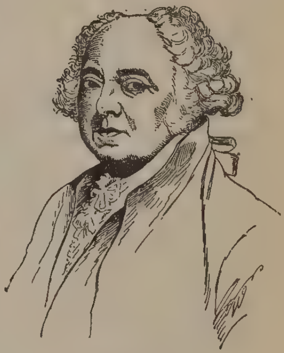
French goods. The Americans contended that only military supplies were liable to seizure, and that as "free ships made free goods" American vessels should not be captured merely because they happened to have French goods on board. In spite of such protests, the British continued to hold up American merchant vessels; and in addition to seizing goods and ships, they began to carry off any British-born sailors found on board.

Neutrality and the Jay Treaty. — Naturally enough, this conduct on the part of Great Britain raised a hue and cry in the United States. The Republicans, who sympathized with France, made much of Genêt, the French representative to the United States government, and openly denounced the British minister, although the United States was supposed to be neutral. The Republicans demanded war on Great Britain, or at least some kind of retaliation for the seizure of American produce, ships, and men.

Washington and Hamilton, however, feared that a second war with Great Britain might be a ruinous affair, and that it would disturb the funded debt, the bank, and the tariff, which had been secured by such hard labors. Moreover, they thought that those Americans who sympathized with the French Revolutionists were dangerous citizens, likely to overturn the newly established American government. Washington requested France to recall Genêt for his imprudent conduct in this country. He also issued a famous proclamation declaring the absolute neutrality of the United States, and sent the Chief Justice, John Jay, to Great Britain to make a treaty disposing of the matters in dispute between the two countries.

Jay succeeded in negotiating a treaty in which he secured very few favors indeed for the United States. Great Britain agreed to withdraw her soldiers from American posts in the northwest, where they had been since the close of the Revolution, and to grant a few additional concessions; but she would not stop seizing American goods and sailors on the high seas. Washington, however, was able to keep the country out of the war, though he made many enemies at the time by his stand for neutrality and the unpopular Jay treaty.

John Adams Elected President. — In the midst of the bitter party fight, the time for the third presidential election arrived. Washington had been reëlected in 1792 amid the hearty rejoicing of the country, and many citizens urged him to accept a third term in 1796. Although he was not opposed to another term on principle, he was growing weary of the duties of office and disliked the party wrangling that was going on around him. Accordingly he refused to accept reelection.


John Adams

The Federalists, after casting about for a candidate, selected John Adams, of Massachusetts. The Republicans, of course, turned to Jefferson, their acknowledged leader. The political campaign which followed was a very savage one indeed; the parties roundly abused each other. Adams was elected by a majority of only three electoral votes. Jefferson, who had received the next highest number of votes, had to content himself with the office of Vice President.

Before Washington laid down his burdens he delivered his famous Farewell Address, in which he warned his countrymen to avoid, as far as possible, becoming embroiled in the quarrels of European nations, and urged them to shun the evils of partisanship at home.

Trouble with France. — By a singular circumstance Washington's successor, Adams, was able to make the Federalist party very popular for a few months. The Directory, which was composed of the chief executive officers of the French Republic, was angry with the United States on account of the Jay treaty, because it had hoped that America would join France in her war on Great Britain. The Directory accordingly refused to receive the American minister until the United States made "amends." Adams thereupon sent to France a special mission of three distinguished citizens. As soon as they arrived, the French government demanded from them an apology for past conduct, a payment in cash, and a tribute to France as the price of continued friendship. President Adams told Congress the truth about these demands, not mentioning the names of the Frenchmen who made them, but referring to them as Mr. X, Mr. Y, and Mr. Z (hence the term, "X Y Z Mission").

The news of this insult made even the Republicans angry at France, and they joined with the Federalists in shouting, "Millions for defense; not a cent for tribute."

As France, like England, was preying on American commerce with European countries, the United States felt compelled to prepare for retaliation. In the fervor of the moment, Joseph Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, wrote the patriotic song, "Hail, Columbia." Fighting on the sea actually began, and Captain Thomas Truxton in command of the American ship *Constellation* won the applause of the country by brilliant exploits against French ships. This informal "war" went on until 1800, when it was brought to a close by a treaty with Napoleon, who had become First Consul of France.

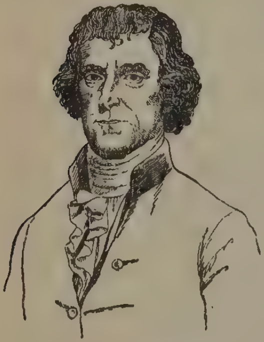
The Alien and Sedition Laws. — If the Federalists had been more careful, they might have defeated the Republicans again in the election of 1800; but in the excitement of their victories over the French they made some fatal political mistakes. They passed in 1798 two famous laws known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. (1) The Alien law gave the President the power to expel any alien from the United States who was not acceptable to the government. Although this law was not enforced, it angered many of the French and Irish who had recently migrated to this country. (2) The Sedition law, which was vigorously enforced, provided that anybody who sharply criticized the government of the United States or any officer thereof might, on conviction, be fined and imprisoned.

Before long, several editors of Republican newspapers found themselves in prison or compelled to pay fines that impoverished them. Bystanders at political meetings who abused the President or Congress were seized and sent to jail. At once Jefferson and his followers rose in wrath against the law, declaring that it was a monarchical attempt to suppress freedom of the press and of speech in this country.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. — Jefferson quickly prepared a set of resolutions condemning the Alien and Sedition laws. These resolutions were adopted by the Kentucky legislature and soon became famous as the "Kentucky Resolutions." In addition to condemning the laws in question and declaring that they violated the Constitution of the United States, the Kentucky resolutions announced the doctrine that the Constitution was a contract or agreement among the states as partners, and that any state could decide when a law of Congress violated the terms of the agreement. Kentucky even went so far as to declare that any state could compel its citizens to disobey an unconstitutional federal law; that is, "nullify" it. This is the doctrine of "nullification," of which we shall hear again later. At the same time, Jefferson's friend, James Madison, drafted a set of milder resolutions, which were passed by the legislature of Virginia.

The legislatures of several northern states replied that the doctrine of nullification was false and that the Supreme Court of the United States alone had the final power to decide disputes between the federal government and the states.

Jefferson Elected President. — During the excitement over the Alien and Sedition laws and the troubles with France and Great Britain, the election of 1800 took place. The Federalists held a "caucus" of their members in Congress and renominated President Adams, while the Republicans again put forward Jefferson for President and Aaron Burr of New York for Vice President. In the campaign which ensued, many bitter and hateful things were said on both sides. The Federalists made a hard fight, but they were defeated. When the electoral vote was counted it was found, however, that Jefferson and Burr each had seventy-three votes and were tied for the office of President.[1]



THOMAS JEFFERSON

As a result of this tie, the choice of President was thrown into the House of Representatives, where the Federalists held the balance of power. It looked for a time as if Burr would be made President; but, largely by the efforts of Hamilton, the Federalists in the House were induced to cast their votes for Jefferson.

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[1] The original Constitution required the presidential electors to vote for two persons, without indicating which office each was to fill, and the person who received the highest number of votes (if a majority) became President. The candidate receiving the next highest number of votes became Vice President. This was changed by the twelfth amendment. See Appendix, p. 662.

So the great party of Washington, Hamilton, and Adams, which had guided the new government through the trials of its first years, was driven from power forever.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. When did the new Constitution go into effect? 2. What part of the country did not wish to have the federal government assume the debts incurred during the Revolution? Why? How was the controversy settled? 3. What was Hamilton's purpose in planning for a national bank? Why were his plans opposed? 4. What is meant by a "protective" tariff? Why were the farmers generally opposed to a protective tariff? 5. State the causes of the "Whisky Rebellion."

II. 1. What effects did the French Revolution have in the United States? What political party in this country showed especial sympathy for the revolutionists in France? Why? Why did Washington ask the French government to recall Genêt? 2. Describe the difficulties that American commerce had to meet because of the war between England and France. Why did England claim the right to search American ships for British-born sailors? 3. What led to the troubles with France? Why are these referred to in the text as an "informal war"? 4. What were the "alien and sedition" laws and why were they passed? Why were they opposed? 5. State the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions.

Review: 1. State the important differences between the Federalists and the Republicans. 2. Make a list of the most important events in the administrations of Washington and Adams.

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Prepare and be ready to give to the class an interesting description of Washington's election and inauguration.

See Elson's "Side Lights on American History," Vol. i, ch. iii; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," pp. 181–197; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 181–183.

2. The French Revolution was one of the most important events of the world's history. Find out all that you can about it, especially about its causes and results.

See Tappan's "England's Story," pp. 313–317; Guerber's "Story of Modern France," pp. 53–119.

3. The federal government offered to redeem the paper money that had been issued by the Continental Congress during the Revolution, but at only one per cent of its original value. Why was the government justified in refusing to redeem this money at its face value?

Interesting accounts of the depreciation of this paper money will be found in Hart's "Camps and Firesides of the Revolution," pp. 218–220, and Hart's "Source Book," pp. 157–159.

4. Why is Alexander Hamilton looked upon by historians as one of the greatest of American statesmen?

See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 97–107.

CHAPTER XI

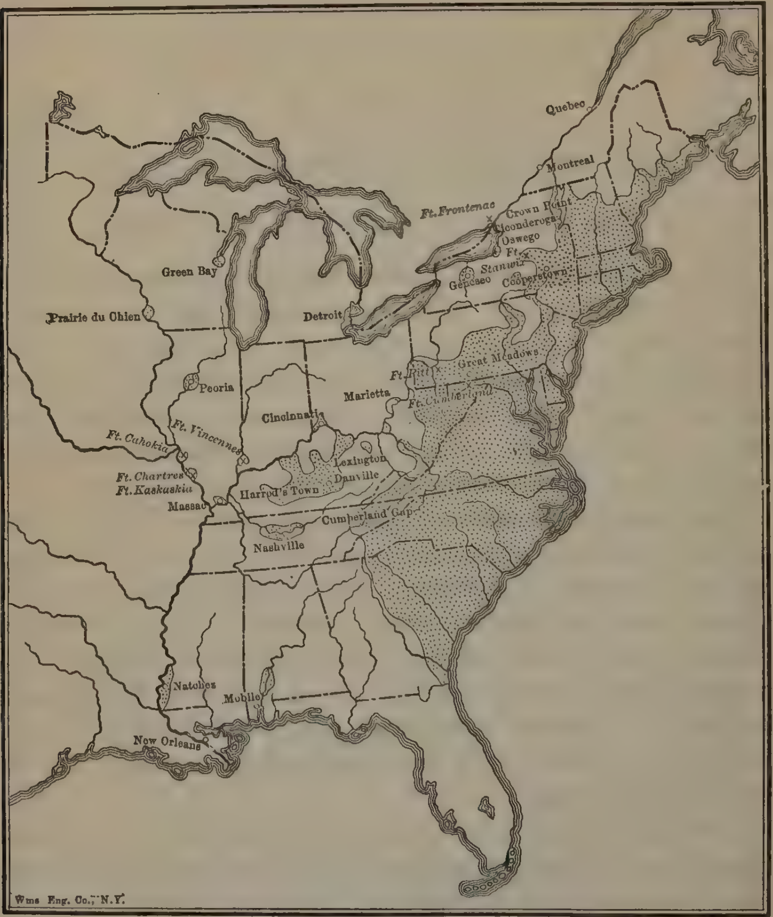
THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

I. The Party of the Farmers in Power

When the news that Jefferson was elected spread throughout the country, his followers rejoiced that the "Great Revolution," so long desired, had come at last. The Federalist party — the party led by merchants, traders, manufacturers, and financiers of the seaboard — had been driven from power. The Republicans, whose leader was first of all a friend of agriculture, were in control.

The Domestic Policies of Jefferson's Party. — On March 4, 1801, Jefferson was inaugurated President — the first at the new capital, Washington. He discontinued the traditional practice followed by Washington and Adams of reading their addresses to the assembled Houses, and adopted the plan of sending his messages to Congress in writing — a custom that was continued unbroken until 1913, when President Wilson returned to the old example set by Washington.

The Republicans then started their reforms. They had complained of the great national debt, and they began at once to pay it off as fast as possible. They had denounced commerce and a great navy to defend it, and accordingly they reduced the number of warships. They had objected to the internal revenue or excise taxes, and these they speedily abolished, to the intense satisfaction of the farmers. They had protested against the heavy expenses of the federal government, and to lower these they discharged a large number of men from the army and abolished many federal



The Extent of Territory Settled in 1790

offices. Having thus swept away everything that seemed "monarchical" and "un-American," the Republicans turned their attention to what they thought would be the permanent national interest — agriculture.

Instead of a "little America" along the seaboard, looking to Europe for trade, for the refinements of life, and, perhaps, for ideas of government, there was now to be a greater America, looking westward to rich valleys and fertile fields, where millions could live and work completely indifferent to the Old World, with its kings, princes, and nobles. The Federalist party had looked with alarm on the growth of the West and Southwest; the Republican party rejoiced in opening the wilderness to pioneers and planters.

Prospects of Future Development Chiefly Agricultural. — Those who, like Jefferson, feared the growth of industrial cities, could now hope with more assurance than ever that the United States would always be primarily a nation of farmers. Only the most imaginative dared to picture a coming age when the population would be thirty times larger than it was when Washington was inaugurated. Only the dreamer fancied a day when all the vast stretches of forest, swamp, wilderness, and valley would be thickly settled, and when cities would spring up in lonely spots where only the low lapping of waters or the howl of the wolf could then be heard.

The Abundance of Land. — In the Northwest Territory, which now embraces the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota, there were, at the end of the Revolution, not more than five thousand white people. Many of them were French settlers living at the posts founded in the days of French rule. To the south in Kentucky and Tennessee, there were only about one hundred thousand white people in 1790, vigorous and hardy pioneers who had pushed over the mountains from Virginia and the Carolinas, and established themselves in scattered settlements here and there in the wilderness. Thus it seemed, at the opening of the nineteenth century, that there was plenty of land in the regions just west of the original thirteen states to satisfy the land hunger of the American people for a hundred years.

The Louisiana Country: *Napoleon Appears on the Scene.* — Yet, strange to say, Jefferson had not long been in office before there was talk of buying still more land — the vast Louisiana Territory, stretching from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. This great domain had fallen to Spain at the close of the Seven Years' War, in spite of the fact that its settlements were inhabited by French. French explorers, like Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle, had been the first to make extensive journeys through the Mississippi Valley, and French pioneers had established posts at New Orleans, St. Louis, and many points in the river region. The names of Baton Rouge, Iberville, Cape Girardeau,

THE FIRST CAPITOL OF OHIO AT MARIETTA

and other towns suggested that the territory belonged of right to France. Nevertheless it was all handed over to Spain in 1763, and held by that country for nearly forty years, when another turn of fortune brought it back for a brief period to the old owner.

In 1800 Napoleon, having swept over all western Europe with his victorious armies, began to dream of a new French colonial empire beyond the seas. He had forced Spain to sign a secret treaty ceding Louisiana to France, and had started to make arrangements for landing troops at New Orleans, before his new plans were discovered by the other countries.

The People of the West Covet the Louisiana Territory. — Meanwhile the people of the western part of the United States had decided that they wanted the Louisiana country for themselves. After the Revolution, some of them had gone across the Mississippi and found rich lands for settlement. Those who had hilly farms in Kentucky and Tennessee sought more fertile and level fields to the west.

There was still another reason why Americans on the frontier coveted the western bank of the Mississippi. The farmers raised wheat and corn and cured bacon and hams which they exchanged in the East for manufactured goods and "ready" money. The long land journeys over the Appalachian Mountains were trying and tedious, and the freight rates were very high. The only easy way to the East was down the Mississippi and around the Atlantic coast. Cloth and nails and other manufactures could be brought over the mountains, but such bulky products as grain and meat simply had to go by the water route.

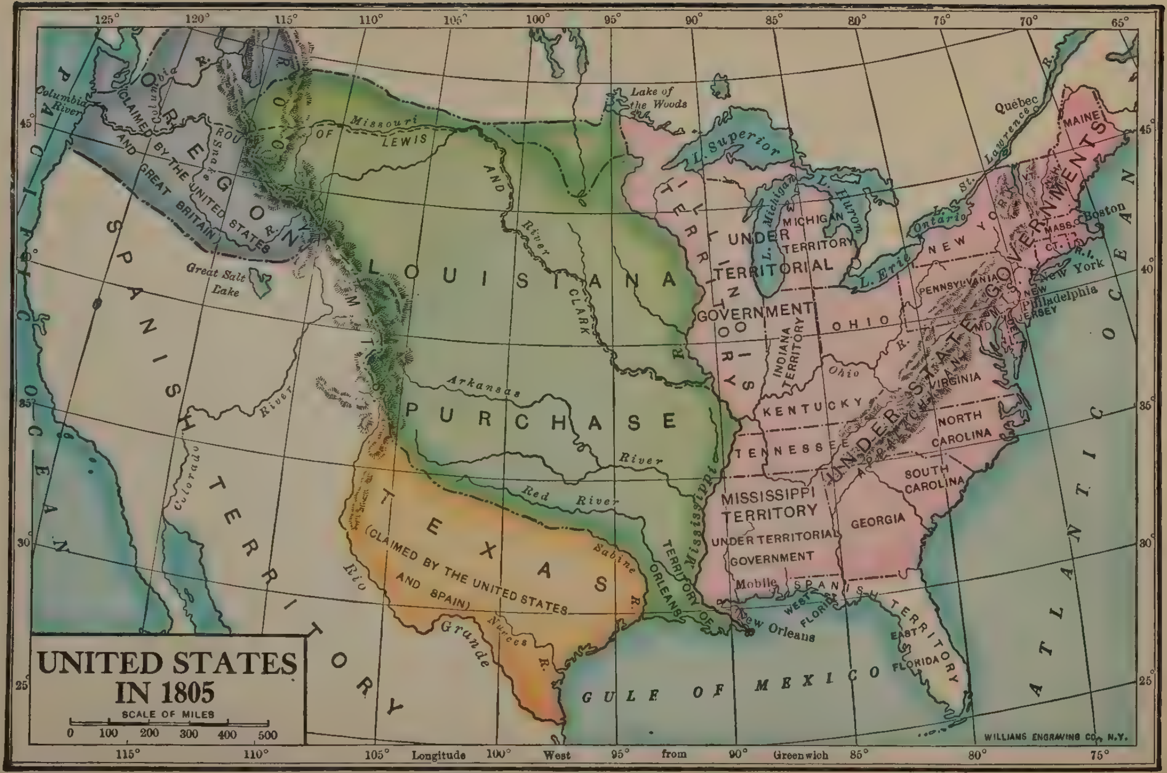
At the gateway of the Mississippi stood a foreign power. Naturally that power looked with misgivings upon the westward expansion of the American people and sought to put obstacles in the way. Privileges which President

Washington had secured from Spain in 1795 were suddenly withdrawn in 1802. Then just as suddenly came the news that Louisiana had been ceded to Napoleon, whose armies were feared throughout the world. Americans on the eastern seaboard, who had been indifferent to the clamor of frontiersmen about their corn and bacon, could not be blind to the dangers of a French empire at their own back door.

The Crisis. — The whole country was stirred. The call for war ran throughout the western border, expeditions were organized to prevent the landing of French troops at New Orleans, and President Jefferson was flooded with petitions for instant and firm action. In the end fortune favored the United States. Napoleon changed his mind about colonies. The war in Europe, which had been stopped for a few months, was renewed, and he could not therefore spare men enough to occupy Louisiana. He came to see that it was folly for him to attempt to hold that territory as long as Great Britain controlled the seas. The hour had come for heroic action on the part of the American government, for the fate of the nation hung in the balance.

II. THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND THE EXPLORATION OF THE NEW TERRITORY

The Louisiana Purchase (1803). — Jefferson was fully alive to the importance of the issue. He determined to open special negotiations with Napoleon looking toward some kind of settlement. He therefore sent James Monroe to Paris with power to buy New Orleans and West Florida for two million dollars. To Robert Livingston, however, belongs the real credit of securing Louisiana to the United States. He was the American Minister to France, and before Monroe arrived, he had convinced Napoleon that it



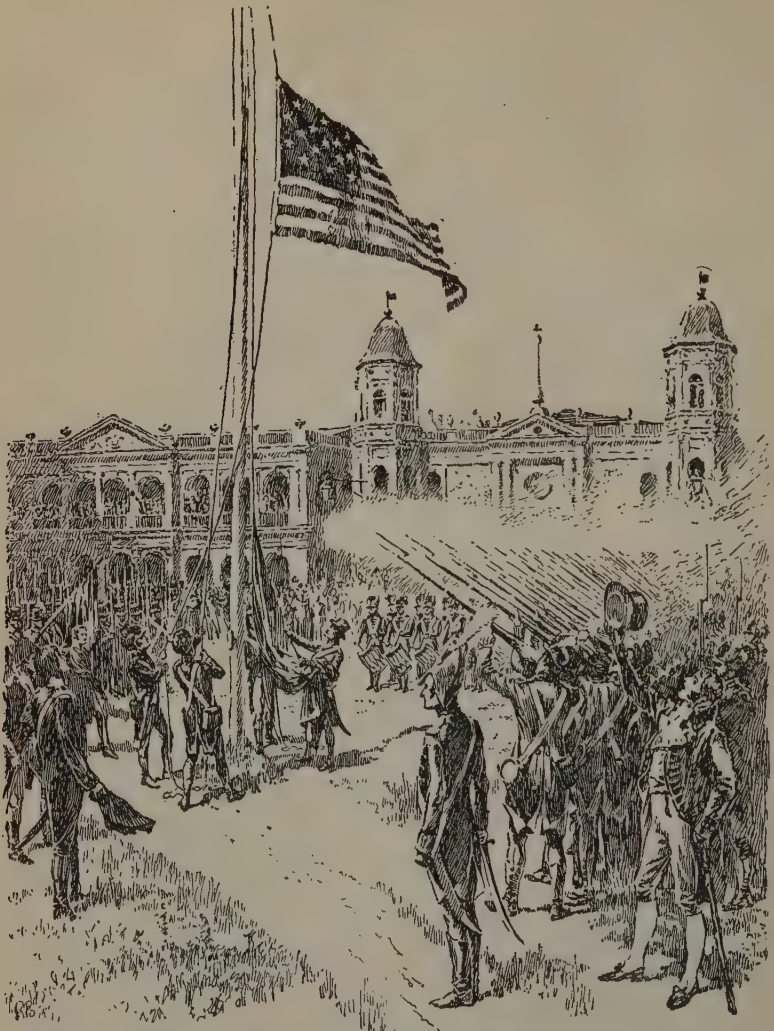
THE UNITED STATES IN 1805

would be wise to sell territory which might be wrested from him at any moment by Great Britain.

Realizing that he would have to give up Louisiana, Napoleon suddenly, on April 11, 1803, offered to sell the whole domain for fifteen million dollars. He was denounced in Spain and France for betraying both countries, but he had made up his mind and nothing could change it. The Treaty of Purchase was accordingly drawn up and signed on April 30, although the American agents were not empowered by their President to buy so much land or spend so much money.

The Reaction against the Purchase. — When the news of the treaty reached the United States, the people were filled with astonishment, and no one was more astonished than Jefferson himself. He had thought of buying West Florida and New Orleans at a cost of two million dollars; now a vast wilderness was to be turned over to the United States at more than seven times the sum he had expected to spend. A cry went up at once against the whole business. Jefferson's political enemies, particularly the Federalists of New England, denounced the scheme and demanded that the treaty with Napoleon be rejected by the Senate of the United States, where it had to go for approval.

Jefferson's Decision. — Jefferson himself was much puzzled. He doubted whether the federal government had the power to purchase new territory, because there was nothing in the Constitution about acquiring more land. He disliked adding so much to the national debt. On the other hand public opinion in the South and West seemed to favor the purchase, and his advisers told him that under his power to make treaties he could arrange to buy territory. He finally came to the conclusion that it was wise to close the bargain. The Senate promptly ratified the treaty. In December, 1803, the French flag was hauled down from



The Stars and Stripes were raised over the government building in Jackson Square, New Orleans, when Louisiana Territory was formally transferred to the United States.

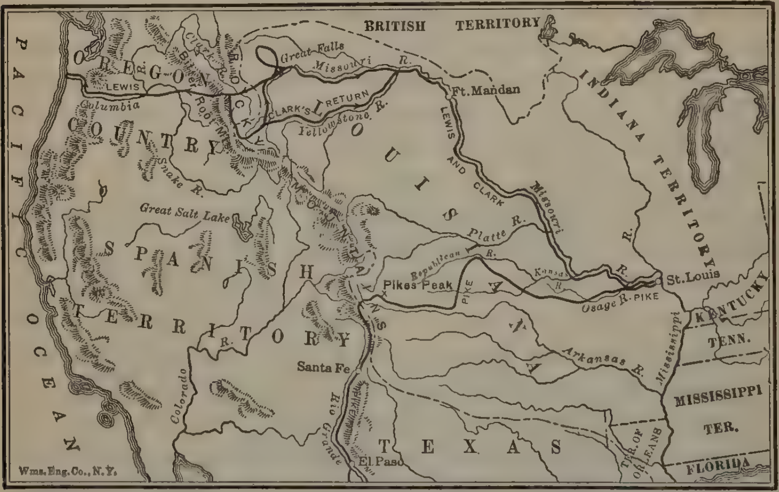
the old government buildings in what is now Jackson Square in New Orleans, and the Stars and Stripes were hoisted, as a sign that the land of Coronado and De Soto, Marquette and La Salle, had passed under the dominion of the United States.

The Extent of the New Territory. — Thus by a single stroke the original area of the United States — even then sparsely settled — was doubled. While the boundaries of the purchase were somewhat uncertain, it is safe to say that the Louisiana Territory included what is now Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and large parts of Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. The farm lands which the "little Americans" on the eastern coast declared to be a hopeless wilderness that could never be settled, were within a hundred years fully occupied, and valued at slightly less than seven billion dollars, — nearly five hundred times the price paid to Napoleon. The faith of those who looked far into the future was justified.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–1806). — Jefferson at once began to prepare the way for the opening of the Louisiana Territory by sending an expedition to explore the new country, discover its resources, and lay out an overland trading route to the Pacific — an expedition which Congress had authorized before the Louisiana Purchase.

After securing an appropriation from Congress to make the survey, he chose as leaders his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, a young man only thirty years old, who had seen military service and frontier life, and William Clark, ot Louisville, an experienced frontiersman.

Lewis and Clark Reach the Pacific. — Soon a party of brave adventurers was made up and went into regular training for the journey. There were carpenters for woodwork; blacksmiths for iron work; expert hunters to supply the company with game; cooks and sugar makers. They engaged in target practice and took daily exercise so as to be hardened for the dangerous trip. When at length they were ready, in May, 1804, they set out from their camp opposite St. Louis in three boats, one fifty-five feet long equipped with a sail and oars. Slowly they made their way against the swift and shallow current of the Missouri River, always on the watch to avoid the sand bars and trunks of fallen trees. In spite of the hardships and perils of hostile Indians, they pushed upward through what is now the Dakotas. In June, 1805, they arrived at the Great Falls of the Missouri in central Montana.



The Regions Explored by Lewis and Clark and by Zebulon Pike

A young Indian woman, Sacajawea, was of great service in guiding the explorers along the upper courses of the Missouri. The party reached the mouth of the Columbia River in November, 1805. They lingered here long enough to form some notion of the country, to prepare their maps, and to finish writing their journal. The return journey was far easier, and they were able to reach St. Louis in September, 1806, after having covered 8000 miles in two years and four months. When the story of this heroic exploit was published, the East began to realize what a mighty empire awaited the coming of the pioneer.

The Explorations of Zebulon Pike. — The same year that Lewis and Clark started for the Far West, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, at the head of an expedition, ascended the Mississippi to Leach Lake, not far from the Canadian border. After his return from this journey he was sent out in search of the source of the Red River, which then formed the boundary between Louisiana and the dominions of Spain.

While exploring in a southwesterly direction he came to the Arkansas River, where he encountered a band of Pawnees with scarlet coats, bridles, and blankets of Spanish origin. From these Indians he learned that the Spaniards had heard of his arrival and were coming to capture the entire party. Undaunted by this, Pike kept on his way westward until he climbed the famous peak which now bears his name, and reached the western slope of the Rockies. There he turned southward and crossed the Rio Grande unwittingly into Spanish territory, where he was captured and taken to Santa Fé, and then south into Mexico. When the Spaniards learned from his papers that he was merely exploring the region and had no intention of seizing any of their territory, they sent him back to the Red River boundary of the United States.

Thus by three expeditions, one by Lewis and Clark and two by Pike, the North, the Far Northwest, and the West were mapped out with greater accuracy than ever before, and the people of the East who were ready for migration were informed of the opportunities for trade and settlement in the Louisiana Territory.

III. FLORIDA; THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

With the purchase of Louisiana, the Father of Waters was open to the sea, but all the southern states and territories east of the Mississippi were cut off from the Gulf of Mexico by the Floridas, which were in the possession of Spain. The Floridas were moreover used as bases for smuggling goods into the United States and as asylums for outlaws and escaped slaves.

The Florida Question. *American Occupation.*—A movement was, therefore, set on foot to take possession of West Florida, on the theory that it really belonged to the United States, and to secure East Florida by some method.

President Monroe instructed General Andrew Jackson to put down an Indian disturbance in the southwest and to capture the marauders, even if it was necessary to follow them over into Spanish territory. Jackson took this as a hint that he was to occupy the Floridas. He wrote to the President that if the possession of them was desired, he could accomplish it within sixty days. Without waiting for an answer to his letter he started, and in the spring of 1818 he had practically conquered the coveted region.

The Florida Purchase.—Spain made the best of the affair by handing the territory over to the United States, in return for an agreement on the part of the latter to pay American citizens certain claims against the Spanish government to the amount of five million dollars.

On February 22, 1819, the treaty of cession was signed, and the southern boundary of the United States east of the Mississippi was extended to its "natural" limits.[1] At the same time the two countries agreed upon the boundary between Spanish Mexico and the United States—a line running from the mouth of the Sabine River in a direction northerly to the Pacific Ocean.

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[1] Florida was admitted to the Union as a state in 1845.

Thus, before a quarter of the new century had elapsed, the original area of the United States had been more than doubled and the boundaries pushed to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and to the Pacific on the west.

The Oregon Country in Dispute. — In the Pacific region, however, the rights of the United States were contested by Great Britain. As early as 1670 King Charles II had chartered the Hudson Bay Company, which laid claim to all the distant lands to the north and west of Canada. The Company in due time put a veritable army of hunters, trappers, and explorers in the wilderness; far and wide its agents went into the Pacific country, opening up out-of-the-way places and gathering stores of furs and skins to be sold in European markets. In 1791–1795 George Vancouver, a navigator in the service of the British government, explored the entire west coast, and gave to the world a map of the shore from San Diego, California, to Cook's Inlet in Alaska. The island which he circumnavigated, north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, bears his name. Citizens of the United States also were interested in the Far Northwest. While Vancouver was making his celebrated voyage, Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, sailed around Cape Horn and up along the coast, discovering in 1792 the "River of the West," to which he gave the name of his good ship — "Columbia." On the basis of the explorations made by Gray and other captains, the United States undoubtedly had valid claims on the Pacific shore.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. Why did Jefferson refer to the defeat of the Federalists as a "Great Revolution"? In what sense did the country now "face to the west" and in what sense had it previously "faced to the east"? 2. Mark on an outline map the boundaries of the Louisiana Territory. How did Spain come into possession of this territory? How did France regain it? 3. Why did the American settlers west of the Alleghenies object to the ownership of the Louisiana Territory by a foreign power? Why was Napoleon willing to sell these lands to the United States?

II. 1. When and for what price did the United States purchase the Louisiana Territory? 2. What part of the country objected to the purchase? For what reasons? 3. Name a few of the resources of the territory, then little understood, that have much more than repaid the original purchase price. Give other reasons for concluding that the purchase was a very good "bargain." 4. Why did Jefferson send out the expedition of Lewis and Clark? Trace on an outline map the route that Lewis and Clark took. What territory did they explore outside of the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase? What country claimed the ownership of this territory at that time? 5. Describe Pike's explorations. Why were they important?

III. 1. Locate the territory known as East and West Florida. How did the United States come into possession of this territory? 2. Why did the United States and Great Britain both claim the Pacific Northwest?

Problems for Further Study

1. Make a list of the reasons for the defeat of the Federalist party in 1800.

See Elson's "Side Lights on American History," ch. ii; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," pp. 218–228; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 197–200.

2. Study in detail one of the following topics of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Imagine yourself to be a member of the expedition and be ready to give to the class an account of what you might have seen and done.

Topics: (*a*) Preparing for the journey; (*b*) events of the journey up the Missouri to the Great Falls in Montana; (*c*) the trip from the Great Falls to the mouth of the Columbia; (*d*) the return journey.

See McMurry's "Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West," ch. i; Elson's "Side Lights on American History," ch. vi; Tappan's "American Hero Stories," pp. 207–217; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 206–209; Brigham's "Geographic Influences in American History," pp. 275–276; Lighton's "Lewis and Clark" (see topics in table of contents).

CHAPTER XII

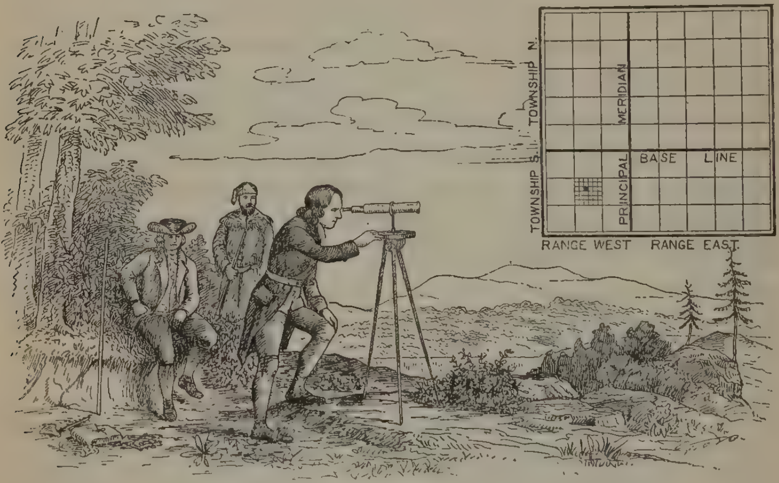
THE CALL OF THE LAND IN THE GREAT WEST

The last chapter contained an account of the way in which the United States overleaped the boundaries which had been set by the treaty with Great Britain at the close of the War for Independence, and reached out on the west to the Pacific Ocean and on the south to the Gulf of Mexico. We have come to a far more romantic and moving story — the story of how brave pioneers explored and settled the millions of acres unoccupied at the end of the Revolution and the additional millions acquired from France and Spain, and developed those regions into new states.

I. The Western Country Prepared for Settlement: Routes across the Mountains

The Older States Surrender Their Claims to Western Lands. — Before the United States could go very far in arranging for the settlement of the west it had to decide several important matters. In the first place, Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts had claims upon large areas of the region north of the Ohio and west of the Alleghenies; so they were loath to see independent territories and states set up in that region. Their claims to western lands rested on old charters, royal grants, and Indian treaties. These were in many respects conflicting, but each state was determined to yield none of its pretensions. So heated grew the dispute over their respective rights that it threatened to break up the Union. Eventually the contestants were induced to surrender their lands to the United States and permit Congress to dispose of the Northwest Territory for the good of the whole nation (p. 168).

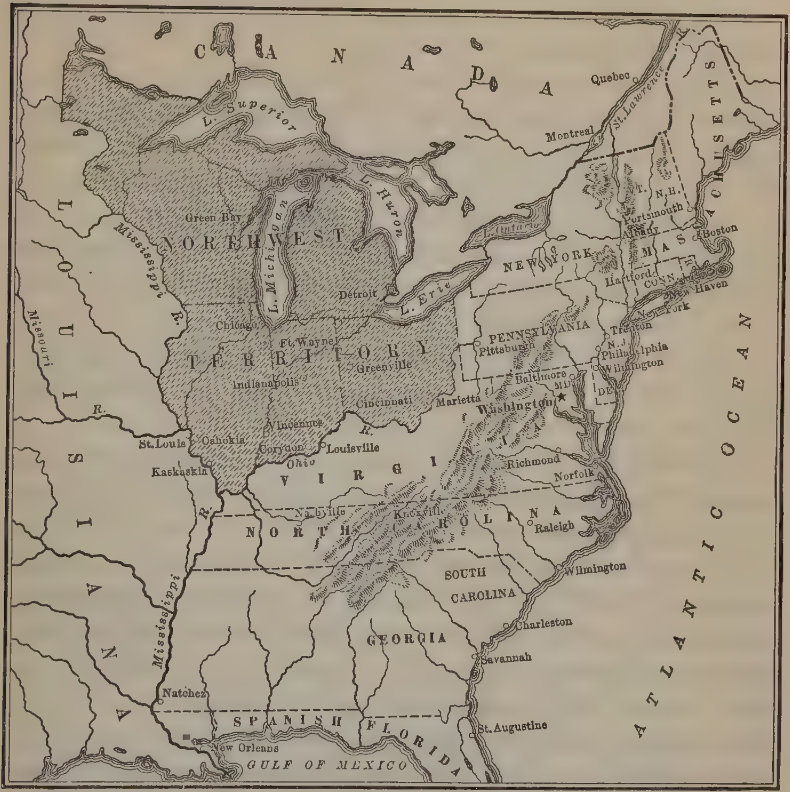
The Government of the Northwest Territory. — Congress thereupon arranged for a government, surveyed the lands, and prepared the way for settlers. By the famous Ordinance of 1787 it was provided that there should be a governor, secretary, and judges appointed by Congress, and that when there were five thousand free males in the territory a legislature chosen by the landowners should be set up.



Surveying in the Northwest Territory; the Congressional Township

The spirit of a new age was found in the provisions of law to the effect that there should be no slavery in the territory; that there should be complete freedom of religious worship. Furthermore a large amount of land was reserved as a trust to supply funds for education.

Out of this territory there were later created and admitted to the Union the following states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.



THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY, SHOWING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE STATES THAT WERE LATER CREATED FROM IT

The Territory South of the Ohio. — Three years after the passage of the Northwest Ordinance, namely, in 1790, the Congress of the United States arranged for the government of the territory south of the Ohio River. All that region was formed into one district for the time being, and the people were granted the same privileges as those in the district north of the Ohio. One important exception was made, in that slavery was permitted in the southern territory. Out of this vast domain the states of Tennessee, Alabama in part, and Mississippi in part were created and admitted to the Union.

Barriers and Gateways to the West. — It was one thing to provide for the government of the wilderness and another thing to get the settlers there safely. In our time, when one may leave New York City in the evening and wake up the next morning beyond the Allegheny Mountains, it is difficult to imagine the state of travel in those old days. Except at a few points nature had imposed great barriers to the overland traveler.

Three of the less difficult routes across the Appalachian barrier became very important gateways to the Middle West:

1. To the north, in New York, lay a long level stretch opening into the Ohio country, through which the New York Central Railroad now runs.

2. In the middle of the barrier, the Ohio River offered gateway to the West and South, and once over the Alleghenies, the settler had a comparatively easy time floating on a raft to his new home. The headwaters of the Ohio, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, where stood the little village of Pittsburgh, naturally became a point to which lines of travel from the East drew together, and from which lines of travel beyond spread out.

3. Farther to the south, the Cumberland Gap offered another gateway to the West, through which much of the emigration from the southern states poured into the back country.

The Four Eras of Travel. — The ease with which travelers and pioneers could reach the western regions had much to do with the number who went and the location of first settlements. So important were the methods of travel that historians have rightly divided the development of the western country into four periods, as follows:

1. The forest-trail and old-road era, which extended from the earliest time down almost to the end of the eighteenth century.

2. The river-route epoch, which began near the end of the American Revolution and closed when the steamboat appeared on the Ohio River.

3. The steamboat period, beginning about 1810, reaching its height about 1850, and declining since 1870.

4. The railway period, beginning about 1835.

The American Epic. — By these methods of travel tens of thousands of men, women, and children passed from the eastern shores over the mountains and spread in every direction, until they had conquered the wilderness, filled the plains, occupied the valleys and the mountain fastnesses, and at length reached the very edge of the continent at the Pacific Ocean. If the forests and plains and deserts and cañons could speak, what a story they could tell of the visitors that have passed by: singly or in pairs or companies, now blazing their way through trackless forests, now laying out treeless plains into farms, now searching for mines and treasure in the mountains, now staggering hot and thirsty across the parched deserts, conquering by will and courage all obstacles in their search for adventure or gold or a free home!

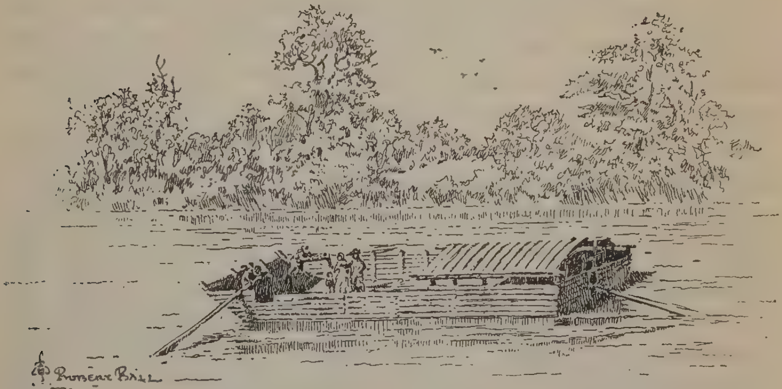
The old and the young, the gay and the gloomy, the selfish and the generous, people of all races and all climes have tramped or ridden across the vast continent in search of El Dorado. Some started out with courage and high hopes and were murdered by Indians or perished of thirst and starvation by the wayside. Others, poor and lowly, in seeking a way westward, found riches and fame.

The stories of Jason and the Golden Fleece or of the wanderings of Ulysses or other ancient heroes are no more novel or entertaining than the countless epics and romances that may be gleaned from the pages of American history. We all read with human interest the story of the wandering of the Jews from Egypt into their new home, or of the Teutonic migrations which overthrew the Roman Empire and laid the foundations of modern Europe. The story of the western settlement is just as fascinating and exciting. As Indian trails are being retraced, portage paths uncovered, relics dug up, and old newspapers, diaries, and memoirs brought out of dust heaps and trunks to be reprinted, we are discovering stories of our own history as delightful and thrilling as the tales of Homer which the Greeks cherished beyond all measure.

And what a setting for the story! There was vastness beyond the comprehension of the little nations of old. There were rivers long and wide and deep — the Mississippi and its tributaries containing a volume of water greater than that of all the rivers of Europe combined, save the Volga. There were lakes like oceans — the Great Lakes alone embracing nearly half the fresh water of the earth. There were regions so far spread that the kingdoms of Europe seem like gardens by comparison — the Louisiana purchase alone being large enough to contain England, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Norway, and Sweden, with land to spare. Precious metals were so abundant that the hoardings of the Mexicans and the Peruvians, which the Spaniards seized, seemed trivial by comparison. Such was the heritage that fell to our young nation at the opening of the nineteenth century.

II. WESTWARD TO THE MISSISSIPPI

Although the history of western migration forms one story, it is necessary, for the sake of convenience, to tell it in several parts. The first of them we may call " Westward to the Mississippi," although, as we have seen, that chapter was not finished before a new one bearing the title "From the Mississippi to the Pacific " was opened.



A pioneer family would place all its earthly possessions on a flatboat and would float swiftly down the current to its destination.

The Region South of the Ohio First Settled. — The first part of our story " Westward to the Mississippi " embraces what we have called above the forest-trail and old-road era, a period extending from the earliest times down to the closing years of the eighteenth century. During this period the migration was largely limited to the district south of the Ohio River. There were two main causes for this.

1. Until long after the Revolution the territory to the north of the Ohio was controlled largely by the Indians, especially after the French lost it in 1763. The Red Men, anxious to save their hunting grounds, lurked along the rivers to rob and scalp the pioneers.

2. There were special reasons why the people of Virginia and the Carolinas were ready to leave their homes and settle in the wilderness: (*a*) The land of those states, particularly along the eastern shores, was owned in great plantations tilled by slaves. The poor man could not compete with slave labor in the fields. (*b*) Cotton and tobacco rapidly destroyed the fertility of the soil and made necessary the opening of new lands. (*c*) It was easier for the frontiersmen of Virginia and the Carolinas to push over into Kentucky and Tennessee than it was for the New England farmer to journey across New York or Pennsylvania into the Ohio country.

Daniel Boone. — Of the pioneers of this first era in the movement to the Mississippi, Daniel Boone is the most famous, and in his life is told the story of hundreds of others who braved the same dangers. Boone began his explorations in the Kentucky region as early as 1769, and the year before the Declaration of Independence he had established the town of Boonesboro. Before the end of the eighteenth century he found the country too "civilized" for his restless spirit and crossed the Mississippi into Missouri, saying: "It is high time to move when a man can no longer fell a tree for firewood within a few yards of his cabin door."

The Movement through the Cumberland Gap. — After Boone blazed the way into the Kentucky region, others were not long in following. The route laid out along the trail through the Cumberland Gap in 1769 was slowly transformed into a respectable wagon road. After the Revolution the southern seaboard states encouraged the settlement of their western lands. In 1788 North Carolina opened a land office in the Watauga Valley and granted farms on easy terms: every head of a family could lay out 640 acres on his own account, 100 acres for his wife, and 100 acres for each child at the low price of ten cents an acre. The next year Virginia offered cheap lands in the western regions, on condition that within a year a house be built and corn planted on each farm granted. South Carolina in 1784 invited settlers to establish homes on her Cherokee lands.

Kentucky and Tennessee. — Residents on the seaboard rushed west to get these cheap lands. The blue-grass regions were soon filled up. Kentucky, at the close of the eighteenth century, had a larger population than Delaware, Georgia, Rhode Island, or New Hampshire, among the original thirteen states. While Washington was President both Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted to the Union. No wonder that the eastern states feared that this "New West" would soon begin to rule the country.

From a painting by Gilbert White

DANIEL BOONE'S FIRST GLIMPSE OF KENTUCKY

The River-Route Period. *The Region North of the Ohio Opened.* — The river-route period, as we have pointed out, began with the closing years of the eighteenth century and extended to the coming of the steamboat. While the regions to the south of the Ohio were filling up, and Louisville, founded in 1778, was becoming an important trading village, significant events were taking place in the North. During Washington's term as President the Indians in the Northwest Territory were defeated in several severe battles and forced to make peace in 1794. The next year the British surrendered the forts along the lake regions which they had been holding since the Revolution. The Ohio River route was at last safe.

From an old print

Pittsburgh in 1790

The Movement down the Ohio and Mississippi. — Soon the stream of pioneers began to flow through Pittsburgh. Emigrants from the East went overland to that point, carrying their household goods in wagons and driving their cattle. At Pittsburgh any kind of boat could be bought — a light canoe for one or two passengers, or a barge that would carry ten tons of freight, household goods, plows, horses, and cattle. When the pioneer family reached the river, it would place all its earthly possessions on a flatboat, and, guided by a printed chart of the river's rocks and snags, it would float swiftly down the current to its destination anywhere between Pittsburgh and the mouth of the Mississippi.

Before the end of the century the banks of the Ohio were lined with flourishing trading posts. Wheeling was founded in 1769, Marietta and Cincinnati in 1788. After the Indian danger was over, these towns grew rapidly and became the centers from which people spread outward to the northwest.

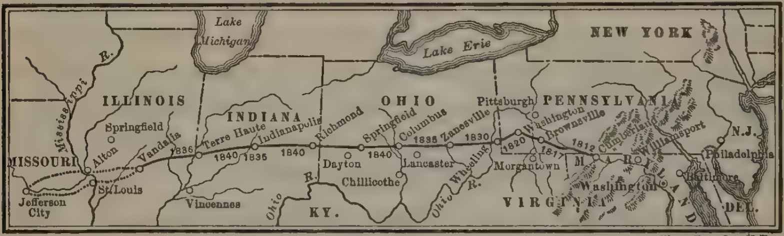
Into the region above the Ohio River two streams of immigration, one from the North and the other from the South, flowed together and mingled their currents in the central regions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These settlers were not adventurers, but industrious homeseekers who " located " their lands, built cabins, organized government, and "buckled down" to the long, hard task of creating a civilization in the wilderness.

Trade with the East through New Orleans. — The river movement which peopled the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi naturally increased immensely the traffic down to New Orleans and outward to the Atlantic coast towns. Barges or flatboats holding two or three tons or even more of farm produce were floated down to the "Crescent City." When the flatboats reached New Orleans, the goods were transferred to ocean-going vessels, and the barges broken up and sold for lumber, the boatmen returning overland.

The Need of a Road over the Mountains. — The people of the Ohio country, though they sold much of their produce through New Orleans, could not take back manufactured articles. These they had to buy from the merchants in the Ohio River towns, who brought most of their supplies over the mountains from the East. This was a tedious and expensive way of trading. It cost $125 a ton to carry freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, where it was distributed to such points as Wheeling, Cincinnati, and Louisville. Often in the spring and in bad weather, the overland teams would be stuck in the muddy roads and traffic would be blocked for days at a time.

The need of a well-built road from the coast into the Ohio region became apparent even before the end of the eighteenth century. After a period of agitation Congress, in 1806, passed a law providing for the construction of a great national highway binding the East and the West.

The National Road Opened. — In 1811, the first construction contracts were let, and within a few years fast stages were running between Washington and Wheeling. This "National" or Cumberland Road started from Cumberland, wound through Maryland and Pennsylvania to Wheeling, and then ran almost straight across Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois into Missouri. The extreme western end was never completed by the United States government because of the rise of railway transportation; but the eastern section proved to be a great boon to the pioneers in the early days.



Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE CUMBERLAND ROAD, SHOWING ALSO THE SECTION ON THE WESTERN END THAT WAS NEVER COMPLETED

Travel East and West. — Along with the development of the freight business, there soon opened a rapid mail and passenger service. The United States government contracted with stage companies to carry mails, just as it does now with the railway companies. Every day the Great

Eastern Mail left the towns along the national road for the East, making the journey at the rate of one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles a day. In 1837 the paper at Columbus, Ohio, boasted that it was able to print the news of the death of the King of England and the accession of Queen Victoria thirty-eight days after the events had happened. When Victoria died, in 1901, the Columbus papers chronicled the news on the same afternoon.

The stages seem always to have been crowded. Senators, Representatives, stock buyers, traders, merchants, gamblers, cattle drivers, and pioneers traveled the long way together, cracking jokes, talking about the campaigns of Napoleon in Europe, drinking at the inns, enjoying an occasional race with a rival stage or even experiencing the excitement of a highway robbery. As the express stage would swing past, scattering letters and papers bearing news from " back home" in the East, settlers along the way would rush out to hear the gossip and get their mail. It no longer seemed so far from the old home. Soon the less timid began to venture out and the number of settlers increased rapidly.

In 1810, Ohio, then a flourishing state, boasted of more than two hundred thousand inhabitants, Indiana had about twenty-five thousand, Illinois twelve thousand, and Michigan five thousand. Before another decade elapsed Indiana and Illinois were admitted to the Union.

Across the Mississippi

The Admission of Missouri and Louisiana to the Union. — The Louisiana Territory and the rich soil of Missouri attracted both the free farmers from the East and the southern planters with their slaves. The cotton and sugar lands to the southward, which had already been partly developed by the French and Spanish settlers, invited slave-owning planters in large numbers. New Orleans afforded a good market, and a touch of civilization which even the hardiest pioneer did not despise. It is not surprising therefore to find in 1810 about 75,000 inhabitants in the lower Louisiana Territory and the people demanding admission to the Union. They pointed out that the Treaty of Cession to the United States had guaranteed that they should in time be permitted to organize a state government and enjoy all the rights and privileges of American citizens.

When their plea was taken up in Congress, it was violently opposed by men from the older eastern states; but the party of Jefferson was in a majority in Congress, and Louisiana was admitted to the Union in 1812. A few years later (1821), Missouri, with a population of sixty-six thousand, found a place among the states after one of the hardest fought contests in the history of the country.

Summary of New States. — By the close of 1821 nine new states had been added to the fifteen Atlantic states:[1]

Kentucky, 1792.
Tennessee, 1796.
Ohio, 1803.
Louisiana, 1812.
Indiana, 1816.
Mississippi, 1817.
Illinois, 1818.
Alabama, 1819.
Missouri, 1821.

No wonder men of the old generation whose affections bound them to the states of the heroic period of the Revolution began to talk about the subjection of the Old America to the New.

III. The Life of the People on the Frontier

The Essential Democracy of the West. — Most of the pioneers of the early days were poor. The great majority of them had no earthly goods except what they took over the mountains in their wagons. Few, if any, were very rich, and there was no upper class such as constituted the ruling element in the eastern and southern states. Each frontiersman could readily secure a farm of some size and thus become the possessor of his own home. No one had to work very long for any one else as a "hired hand." The farmer, secure in the possession of his land and home, could snap his fingers at the world, knowing that the doings of kings, principalities, and the powers of Europe, or the course of events beyond the Alleghenies, could not deprive him of his daily bread. There was a genuine equality of people based on similarity of occupation and opportunity, and there was a spirit of liberty unique in our history.

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[1] Vermont, claimed by both New York and New Hampshire, had been admitted as the fourteenth state in 1791. Maine was admitted with Missouri (p. 370).

The Pioneer Farmers. — Each family was, in fact, almost entirely independent of the outside world. In the fireplaces, built out of rough stones or logs and covered with plaster, wood from the neighboring forest was burned. In the huge Dutch ovens or before the fire on the hearth the family baking was done. In the corner of the one room of the cabin stood the spinning wheel and loom where carpets and coarse cloth were made. In the cellars or in caves stores of food for the winter were laid by. Among the rafters or in a smokehouse hung the hams, bacon, and quarters of beef cured for family use.

If a farmer needed a new room to his house or a new barn, his neighbors collected on the spot, cut the trees, raised the structure, and finished it off with a celebration, enlivened by drinks from "the little brown jug." If his wife needed new bed clothes for the winter, she gathered in the women of the neighborhood and held a "quilting bee." Corn was shucked at "husking bees," where the young folks had rollicking times. When a forest was to be cleared for planting, neighbors gathered, cut the trees, and rolled the logs up in huge piles for burning. The "log rollings" were social affairs in those early times.

The Pioneer's Family.—Young people married before they left their teens. When a couple was married, it was a common thing for the neighbors to "pitch in" and build a cabin on short order; father would furnish the groom with a horse and a cow; mother would present the bride with a few cups, saucers, and pans; and with crude furnishings the young people would start their housekeeping.

From an old print

The women of the neighborhood gathered together and held a quilting bee.

There were usually many children, and they always were welcome to help with the chores and in the fields. A traveler in Kentucky in 1802 said: "There are few houses which contain less than four or five children." A little later another traveler in Ohio declared: "Throughout the whole country when you see a cabin you see a swarm of children." There were no "leisure-class" men or women.

Every man, woman, and child had work to do in helping to support the family. Besides the hard housework, including spinning and weaving, most of the women helped their husbands in the fields. The old lines,

> Man's work is from sun to sun;
> Woman's work is never done,

applied with peculiar force to the women of pioneer days.

Dangers and Discomforts of the Pioneer's Life. — All the people, men, women, and children alike, had to be courageous. Life in the wilderness was lonely. Frequently it was ten or twenty miles through the forests to the nearest neighbor. One of the authors of this book knew a pioneer woman who in her youth was accustomed to ride along blazed trails for miles, visiting those who were sick or in need, and more than once narrowly escaping being killed by panthers. When the winters were long and cold, a family might be out of touch with the world for months at a time. If a person was sick, home remedies usually had to be relied upon, for it might be a day's journey on horse to the nearest doctor. When one of the family died, the rest would make a rude coffin out of hewn boards and bury the dead, without any funeral services, save perhaps a silent prayer, under a tree or in an open field, where watch would be kept over the body against prowling wolves. One of the most touching incidents in Lincoln's career is the death of his mother in a frontier settlement in Indiana in 1818; it was not until some months afterward that he could find a preacher to say a few simple words over her grave.

Schools in the New Country. — There was little time for the refinements of life, although the pioneers were not utterly neglectful of education. From the very first, lands were set aside to be sold or rented to furnish money for schools; but the funds were meager, and it was common for the school teacher to add to his or her scanty wage by " boarding round " among the families that sent children to the school. Naturally only the essentials — " readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic " — were taught at first, and the teachers were often almost as ignorant as the pupils. " Keepin' ahead of the class " was regarded as quite a feat for the young teacher.

The schoolhouses were log cabins with small windows generally made of oiled skin or paper. The floor was made of " puncheons " — logs smoothed off with the ax and laid close together on the earth. Desks there were none. Each pupil sat upon a bench made out of a short log split down the center and mounted upon four legs. A fireplace furnished the heat, and generally enough smoke to make the children weep. If, in anger at their pranks, the master shut the children out of the cabin, the children would reply by placing a board over the chimney and " smoke the teacher out." It was a fortunate child that received three months' " schooling " out of every twelve. The hard labor of the house and the fields left little time for " larnin'."

The Influence of Pioneer Life upon Political Opinions. — These rude and free and equal conditions of life had a deep influence on the political ideas of the people. Protecting themselves against man and beast by their own strong arms, they had little need to call on the government for help. Government meant to them more taxes; so they thought that the less the government interfered with them the better. In fact, many of them lived practically without a government, on the far frontier. What little they had in their counties and thinly populated states was simple. The public business was not difficult, and any fairly intelligent person could carry it on. It required only a few officers, — sheriffs, keepers of land records, and treasurers.

So the pioneers thought that there should be a constant rotation in office — a passing of the offices from man to man in order to give as many as possible a share, and a chance at the "ready money" paid as salaries. The pioneers were jealous of the rich people of the East, and thought that they made too much money out of the "jobs" with the government at Washington. Such were the political ideas of the frontiersmen of the West. Soon we shall see how they affected the politics of the whole country.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. In what way did the claims of the older states upon the western lands delay the development of the western country? How were these claims finally settled? 2. How did the government of the territory south of the Ohio differ from the government of the Northwest Territory? 3. The Northwest Territory was laid out in townships about six miles square. In each township one section was reserved for the support of public schools. Find this section on the illustration, page 210. 4. Trace upon an outline map the three important gateways from the seaboard states to the western country.

II. 1. Why was the territory south of the Ohio settled before the Northwest Territory? 2. Why was the national road constructed? 3. Trace the course of the road from Cumberland, Maryland, through Wheeling, Zanesville, Columbus, and Richmond to Indianapolis. 4. Determine from a map of the middle Atlantic states the number of mountain ridges that had to be crossed before the Ohio was reached. 5. How did it happen that the westward movement continued beyond the Mississippi long before the country to the east of the Mississippi had been well settled? 6. Why was there opposition in the North and East to the admission of Louisiana? Why were the southern people more generally in favor of admitting this state?

III. 1. In what ways did the life of the pioneers who settled west of the Alleghenies differ from the life of those living in the seaboard states? Why was the pioneer likely to be more "democratic"? More self-reliant? 2. Why were the pioneers not likely to consider education as important as it is considered to-day?

Problems for Further Study

1. Find out all that you can about Daniel Boone and tell what he did to make himself remembered as the most famous of the western pioneers.

See McMurry's "Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley," ch. v; Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 19–28; Bass's "Stories of Pioneer Life," pp. 33–45.

2. Imagine yourself a member of a family emigrating from eastern Pennsylvania to southern Indiana about 1810. Describe the journey that you might have taken from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh and thence down the Ohio by flatboat.

See Hart's "How Our Grandfathers Lived," pp. 109–113; Bass's "Stories of Pioneer Life," pp. 54–68; Brooks's "Stories of the Old Bay State," pp. 174–182; Gulliver's "Daniel Boone."

CHAPTER XIII

TROUBLESOME FOREIGN AFFAIRS: THE WAR OF 1812 AND LATIN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The work of conquering the wilderness, undoubtedly important, was by no means the sole concern of the people of the United States during the early years of the nineteenth century. Although the farmers and planters could readily win their daily bread from the soil, they could not live by bread alone. They had to have manufactures and other goods from abroad; in order to buy they had to sell the produce of their plantations and farms. American shippers engaged in this business sailed to almost every port of the world. Their success was founded upon the right to range the seas and trade with all countries. Without this commerce, ships would have rotted at the wharves, ship yards would have been closed, working people and merchants would have been idle, and tons of bacon, corn, cotton, tobacco, and other produce of the soil would have become worthless in the hands of the farmers and planters.

For this reason, the great war raging between England and France, which threatened American commerce, was a matter of deep anxiety to our government.

I. The War in Europe Involves American Commerce

England and France Blockade the Coast of Western Europe. — Great Britain and France wanted to prevent each other from receiving goods from the United States. In May, 1806, England, in a determined effort to starve out

France, declared that the coast of Europe from the mouth of the Elbe River to Brest was blockaded. In other words, she served warning on all the other countries in the world that her ships of war and her merchant vessels fitted out as privateers would seize all ships — no matter to whom they belonged — which attempted to enter or leave any ports along the coast between these two points.

Inasmuch as the United States had hundreds of ships carrying goods to France, this meant either a destruction of our French trade, or, at all events, the seizure of many American ships attempting to go into or out of those ports. This action on the part of Great Britain was resented by the Americans, for it reduced them to desperate financial straits.

Napoleon Forbids Trade with the British Isles. — However, they did not receive any better treatment at the hands of the French, for Napoleon, in November, 1806, replied to the English blockade by forbidding all trade with Great Britain. This meant that French war vessels would seize American ships bound to or from English ports. Since the American trade with England was much larger than the trade with France, this was a desperate blow struck at American shipowners and merchants and planters, whose property was liable to be confiscated at any time by Napoleon's men of war.

America's Protests Are in Vain. — Of course the Americans made violent protest against such high-handed action. Great Britain, a year later, relaxed her strict blockade and declared that any ship bound to France that did not carry munitions of war would be permitted to complete its journey, if it touched at an English port, secured a license, and paid a heavy tax. This slight gain for American interests was quickly offset, because Napoleon, a few months afterward, announced that any ship which complied with this

English order, by going into an English port on the way to France, would be seized by his government.

Thus the Americans were in a sad plight. Their ships and goods bound for England were liable to be captured by the French. Their goods and ships bound for France were liable to be taken by the English if the order about stopping and paying a tax was not obeyed. If they did stop and pay the tax they were almost certain to be seized by the French. Thousands of Americans interested in this trade, which was going to ruin, demanded war — some against France and some against England.

Jefferson a Man of Peace. — Jefferson himself loved peace and hated war. Probably there was no man in the United States more anxious than he to avoid bloodshed. In fact, during the eight years of his presidency (1801–1809) his chief troubles arose from his efforts to keep the peace. He sent Commodore Preble over, in 1803, to punish the Mediterranean pirates who were preying on American commerce, but he wanted no war with England or France.

The Embargo Act (1807). — In the emergency, Jefferson suggested a remedy which proved to be worse than the disease. In 1806 Congress had passed an act prohibiting the importation of British goods and merchandise into the United States. Jefferson then proposed a more drastic step; namely, that Congress should pass an embargo act forbidding all vessels to leave port. Congress accepted his scheme and enacted the law in December, 1807. Those who favored this plan thought that they would be able to bring both France and England to terms by thus cutting off their supplies from America.

Hard Times the Result. — The effect of the embargo was the ruin of trade. The South and the West especially suffered, for they were completely dependent upon the exchange of cotton, tobacco, and other produce in Europe. The

North was in distress also. Shipowners let their vessels lie idle in the harbors hoping for a change of policy. Thirty out of forty thousand sailors were suddenly thrown out of work. The prices of foreign goods doubled. Lumbermen and fishermen were reduced to beggary, and farmers offered their lands for sale.

The Embargo Act Repealed; the Non-Intercourse Act Passed (1809). — The laws forbidding trade did not have the desired effect in bringing Great Britain and France to terms. They only exasperated American shippers and merchants all the more. Men who obeyed the laws were ruined. Hundreds refused to obey them and sent their ships out in spite of the embargo, or smuggled goods over into Canada and Florida for shipment to Europe. Congress was compelled to give some heed to the protests which arose. In February, 1809, it repealed the Embargo Laws, and passed instead of them a Non-intercourse Law

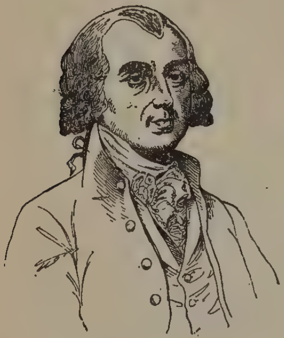
British Naval Officers on Board an American Ship to Search for British-born Sailors which forbade trade with England and France while permitting it with all other European nations. As most of the trade was with these two countries, this measure gave little relief.

England Impresses American Sailors. — In addition to the quarrel over trade, there was another source of American irritation against Great Britain. Being in great need of sailors for her navy, England had adopted the practice of stopping American ships, searching them, and carrying away British-born sailors discovered on board. England maintained the doctrine, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman" — a doctrine not accepted by the United States. In many cases it was difficult to tell whether sailors were English-born or American. Both spoke the same language, and, owing to their roving life, they seldom had papers showing where they were born or to which country they belonged. The English sea captains, perhaps by mistake, carried away scores of men who were real American citizens. It can readily be understood how incensed the American people must have been when they heard of the repeated overhauling of American ships and the seizure of American citizens to serve in the British navy.

Jefferson Refuses a Third Term. — In the midst of these troubles Jefferson's second term expired. Some of his friends urged him to accept another term; but he declined saying that reëlection might become habitual and election for life follow. In refusing the third term, he set an example to all succeeding presidents.

James Madison Becomes President (1809–1817). — Jefferson's successor, James Madison, was not any better fitted to be President in troublous times. He was by temper a man of peace, and had been interested in civil government rather than in military affairs. He had been a member of the convention which drafted the Constitution of the United

States. He had helped in securing its ratification. He had served many terms in the Virginia legislature, and in the Congress of the United States. After the dispute between Hamilton and Jefferson arose, he gave his powerful support to the Republican party, and as their trusted leader was elected President in 1808.



JAMES MADISON

Impressment Continues. *The Chesapeake Affair.* — When Madison took the oath of office on March 4th, 1809, he found that he had entered a "hornets' nest." In fact, without any declaration of war, the American and British ships were already fighting on the high seas. Indeed, two years before the British ship *Leopard* had fired on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, killed three men, wounded eighteen others, and seized four sailors.

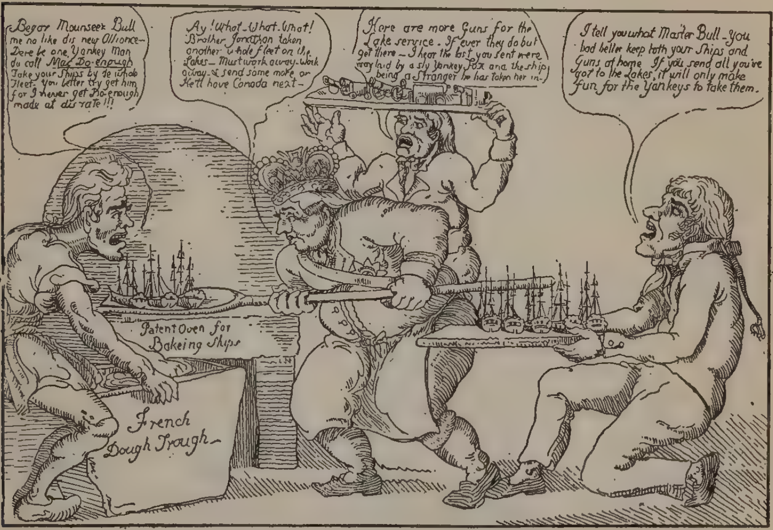
Resentment against this was still smouldering when another outrage was committed in May, 1811. A British frigate stopped an American vessel near the New York harbor and seized another American citizen. This last affair so disturbed the Americans that even the peaceful Madison ordered a warship, the *President*, to go out and punish the offenders. The *President* sighted a British vessel and poured several broadsides into it.

II. THE WAR OF 1812

War Declared against England. — The irregular fighting brought on a declaration of war against Great Britain. In the Congress that assembled in December, 1811, there were a number of young men, called War Hawks, led by John C.

Calhoun, of South Carolina, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, who demanded immediate war on England. They moved the East by calling attention to the depredations on commerce, and they excited the West by promising the early conquest of Canada — and more land.

As a matter of fact, Napoleon, in his proclamations, had shown as little regard for American rights, but he had not had the same opportunity to carry his words into effect. The Americans had not forgotten that the French had helped the United States in the War for Independence; and it was easier to stir up hatred against the former enemy, Britain. President Madison, though opposed to war, knew that he could not be reëlected if he stood out against the war party. On June 18, 1812, he approved the declaration of war on Great Britain by Congress.


Begor Mounseer Bull me no like dis new Allionce— Dere be one Yankey Man du call Mac Do-enough Take your Ships by de whole Fleet— You better try get him for I never get Do-enough made at dis rate!!!
Ay! What—What—What! Brother Jonathan taken another whole fleet on the Lakes— Must work away—Work away—& send some more or He'll have Canada next—
Here are more Guns for the Lake service. If ever they do but get there— I hear the last you sent were way laid by a sly Yankey Fox and the ship being a Stranger he has taken her in—
I tell you what Master Bull—You had better keep both your Ships and Guns at home. If you send all you've got to the Lakes, it will only make fun for the Yankeys to take them.
Patent Oven for Bakeing Ships
French Dough Trough—

Cartoon of the War of 1812

In proclaiming the war the government of the United

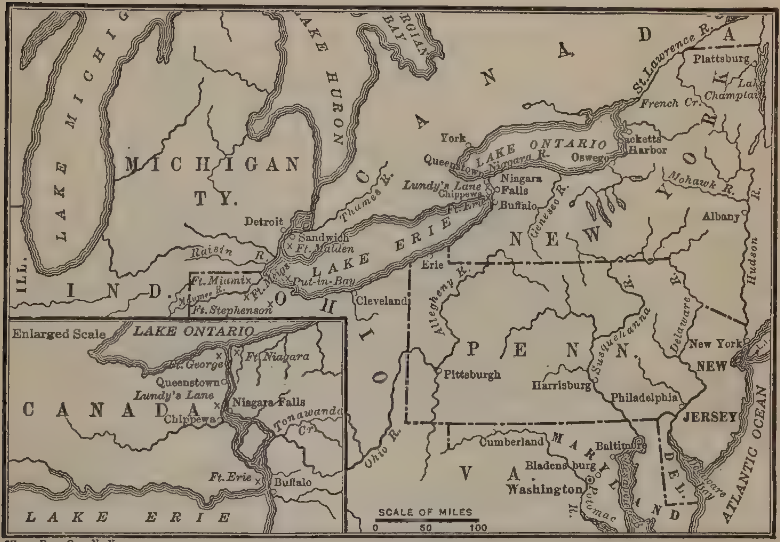
States declared: (1) that the British had been encouraging the Indians to attack American citizens on the frontier; (2) that they had been ruining American trade by their blockades; (3) that they had insulted the American flag by stopping and searching our ships; and (4) that they had illegally seized American sailors and forced them to serve on British war vessels.

New England against the War. *The Hartford Convention.* — Although this war was very popular in the West and South, it was disliked by the New Englanders because it actually meant a destruction of their trade on the high seas. It was even worse for New England shipowners and merchants than an embargo, because, in spite of the law, they had been able to slip out some goods and ships. Now that war was declared they could not even smuggle, and they were compelled to furnish money and men for a conflict which they did not approve.

Some of the citizens of New England approached near to treason in resisting the attempts of the United States to levy troops there. The Senate of Massachusetts in 1813 resolved that the war was "waged without justifiable cause." The following year a convention was held at Hartford, Connecticut, at which several amendments to the Constitution were proposed with a view to making it impossible for the southern and western states to control the country.

Misfortunes of the American Armies. — Not only was the country divided against itself; it was ill prepared for hostilities. It relied mainly on raw, undisciplined volunteers and militiamen and could not provide even them with sufficient supplies. On the land the Americans won little glory, except at New Orleans at the very close of the contest. Although they made attacks on Canada and won fame for fighting at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, on the whole their losses in the North were greater than their gains. They were finally driven out of Canada and even compelled temporarily to give up Detroit to the British.

The Capitol at Washington Burned. — In addition to being defeated in these attempts in the North, the Americans suffered the humiliation of having their capital ravaged by the British. In August, 1814, an expedition landed from the British fleet in the Chesapeake Bay and marched quickly to Washington, where it destroyed by fire the Capitol, the "White House," and several other public buildings. President Madison was forced to flee for his life. The British then moved on Baltimore, driving the weak American militia before them. The British fleet, however, had been unable to reduce Fort McHenry,[1] which guarded the city. The attempt was therefore abandoned.



Wms. Eng. Co., N. Y.

SCENE OF THE WAR OF 1812

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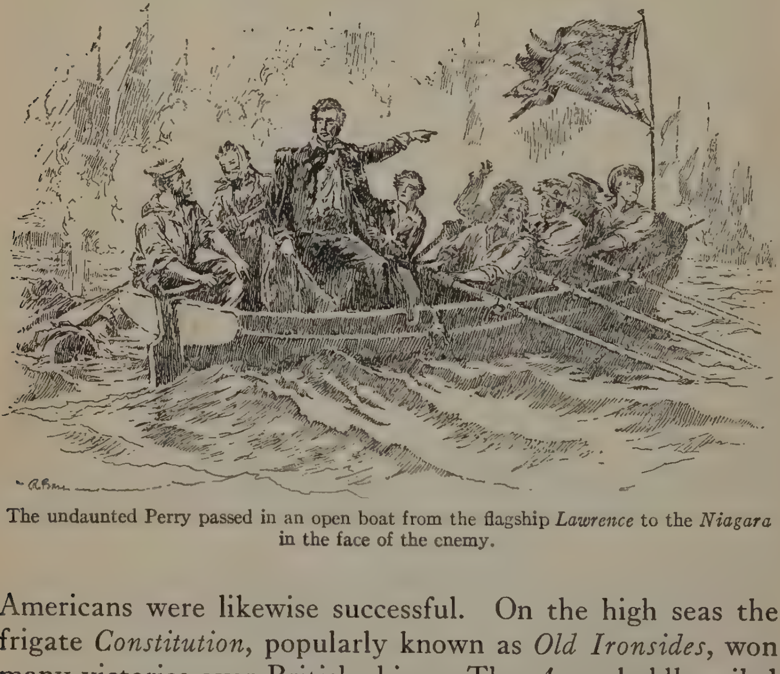
[1] The attack inspired Francis S. Key to write the "Star Spangled Banner."

The Naval Exploits. — The unfortunate events on land, however, were in part offset by unexpected successes on the sea. In 1813 Oliver Hazard Perry, in command of a small number of American warships on Lake Erie, defeated and captured the entire British fleet stationed there, — reporting his victory in the famous dispatch, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." On Lake Champlain the Americans were likewise successful. On the high seas the frigate *Constitution*, popularly known as *Old Ironsides*, won many victories over British ships. The *Argus* boldly sailed into the English Channel, and destroyed twenty-seven ships. In every battle American sailors showed skill and courage. Even when the *Chesapeake* was beaten by the British *Shannon*, the gallant American commander, Lawrence, who lay dying of mortal wounds, cheered his men by the plucky order, "Don't give up the ship."



The undaunted Perry passed in an open boat from the flagship *Lawrence* to the *Niagara* in the face of the enemy.

During the two and one half years of the War of 1812, the United States government commissioned more than five hundred privateers, which captured over 1300 British vessels, most of them merchantmen carrying valuable cargoes. The American victories at sea seriously disturbed the British, who thought their navy invincible, and in 1814 they sent over a big fleet which put an end to such triumphs and blockaded the entire coast of the United States.

Jackson's Victory at New Orleans (1815). — Indeed the war would have been discouraging in the extreme to the Americans, if it had not been for an astonishing victory at New Orleans where General Andrew Jackson was in command. Hearing that the British were coming, his men hastily threw up breastworks of earth and cotton bales. On January 8, 1815, the British assaulted the American intrenchments, only to be driven back in disorder with a loss of more than two thousand men, while Jackson lost only seventy-one. The news of this remarkable victory brought great rejoicing throughout the country, because it was about the only consolation the Americans had during the war.

The Treaty of Ghent (1814). — There was a certain tragedy about this victory, because in December, before the battle was fought, American ministers had met the British representatives at Ghent and signed a treaty of peace. News of the treaty did not reach this country until February. When it did arrive, every one was surprised to find that nothing had been said about the seizure of American sailors, the searching of ships, the destruction of trade with Europe, or the stirring up of the Indians on the frontier. Both countries were heartily sick of the war and glad to have peace. The omissions of the treaty, as it happened, were not serious, for the European wars were brought to a close with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in June, 1815. Great Britain no longer impressed sailors, searched ships, and confiscated American goods bound for the continent.

Political Results of the War: *The Bank and the Protective Tariff.* — The chief effects of the war were to be noticed in politics at home. The unpatriotic conduct of the Federalists in New England had disgraced the party, and after 1816 it ceased to make nominations for the presidency. On the other hand, the followers of Jefferson adopted two leading Federalist measures: they established a second United States bank in the place of the old bank, the charter of which had expired in 1811; and they applied the principle of a high protective tariff in their revenue law of 1816. (See pp. 249–250.)

III. The Spanish-American Republics

The Latin-Americans Throw Off the Spanish Yoke. — The foreign troubles of the United States were by no means at an end on the signing of the Peace of Ghent. A storm cloud appeared in another sky. During the Napoleonic wars, the Spanish colonies in South America began to assert their independence. Between 1810 and 1825, Mexico, New Granada (now Colombia), Venezuela, Peru, Buenos Ayres, Ecuador, Chile, and other states, following the example set by the United States in 1776, declared themselves to be free republics.

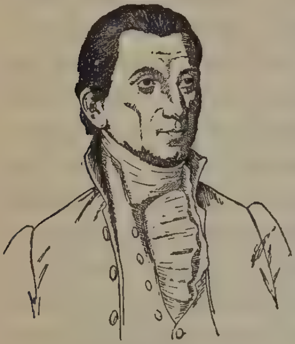
The Holy Alliance. — The Spanish king was, of course, much distressed at the loss of his colonies, but alone he could not conquer them because his army and navy had been depleted in the Napoleonic wars. The only hope for him lay in securing help from some of the neighboring European rulers; and the outlook was favorable. In 1815, an agreement, popularly known as "The Holy Alliance," had been made between the rulers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for the purpose of suppressing in Europe just such revolutions as had happened in South America. This alliance of monarchs was regarded in the United States as a union of kings to prevent the rule of the people everywhere.

American Freedom Imperiled. — The Americans thought their fears were confirmed when, in 1822, a conference composed of representatives of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, met to discuss revolutions which had just broken out in Spain and Italy. The Czar of Russia, who by the way coveted the west coast of North America, proposed to send an army to Spain to help the king. In fact, all the powers except England doubtless would have been glad to aid Spain in conquering her rebellious colonies.

The United States at that time was a small and weak country. Only a few years before it had closed an unhappy war with Great Britain, and the British still possessed great dominions to the north. If Spanish rule had been restored by the intervention of European monarchs, a strong foreign power would have threatened the United States on the south and west. If the Czar of Russia had been permitted to make good his claims to territory along the Pacific coast, there would have been a new danger in that quarter. Had the United States been thus surrounded by countries ruled by monarchs, the future of the republic would have been in peril.

Fortunately England refused to aid the Holy Alliance. The English had built up a thriving business with the new Latin-American republics, and they were in no mood to see Spanish dominion over them restored, for a Spanish monopoly over their trade would have followed. This action on the part of the British, which really placed the British navy between the monarchies of Europe and the New World, greatly relieved the Americans.

The Monroe Doctrine (1823). — It was amid these circumstances that President Monroe (1817–1825) in his message of December 2, 1823, made a statement to Congress which has become famous throughout the world as "The Monroe Doctrine." He called attention to the dangers which would threaten the United States in case the kings of Europe tried to restore Spanish rule in Latin-America. He said that he regarded "any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."


James Monroe

The President added that we would not interfere with the existing colonies and dependencies of European powers, but that as to the governments which had declared their independence:

> We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny by any European power, *in any other light than a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*

In another part of his message President Monroe referred to a declaration issued in 1821 by the Czar of Russia claiming rights to North American territory extending from the Bering Straits far down along the Pacific coast. In calling attention to this claim, President Monroe warned the Old World that:

> The American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

In stating this doctrine, which ever since has borne his name, President Monroe took an important step. He declared, in fact, to the powers of Europe (1) that the United States would help to maintain the independence of the Latin-American republics, and (2) that no European power would be permitted, unopposed, to increase its territory and dominions on the American continents. Under this doctrine the United States assumed the rôle of protector of the Latin-American countries. It also served a warning on the European nations that they could not interfere in the affairs of North or South America without involving the United States.

It was a long time before the people of the United States were drawn into any more serious controversies with European powers. From the accession of President John Quincy Adams in 1825 down to the Civil War, they were able to devote most of their attention to developing industry and agriculture at home, and peaceful trade and commerce abroad.

The Czar of Russia, no doubt mindful of the Monroe Doctrine, never pressed his claims in the West. Friendly relations were established with Great Britain, even to the extent of abolishing all battleships on the Great Lakes and all forts on the Canadian border. Compared with the armed watch on the Rhine this open border between two great nations — once bitter enemies — deserves to be classed among the achievements of humanity.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Why did the war between England and France so seriously affect American commerce? 2. What is meant by an embargo on exports? What were the results of the Embargo act of 1807? What were the important differences between the Embargo act and the Non-intercourse act? 3. How did England justify her policy of searching American ships and impressing sailors?

II. 1. Make a list of the events that led to the War of 1812. 2. Why were the New England states against the war? 3. Why were the Americans generally unsuccessful on land? 4. Are there any reasons why they should have been more successful on sea? 5. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent? In your opinion were the Americans victorious in the War of 1812?

III. 1. At what time did the Spanish colonies in Mexico and South America win their independence from Spanish rule? Why was Spain unable to resist the movement toward independence? 2. What was the "Holy Alliance" and why was it formed? In what way was it a danger to democracy in America? 3. What is meant by the "Monroe Doctrine"? Why was it important?

Review: Find from the table of Presidents (Appendix, p. 645) the number of terms served and the dates of the beginning and ending of the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Make a list of the important events in each administration.

Problems for Further Study

1. Who was Napoleon and what did he do to make his name remembered?

See Tappan's "England's Story," pp. 318–322; Guerber's "Story of Modern France," pp. 127–239.

2. Tell the story of one of the following events of the War of 1812:

a. *The Constitution* and *The Guerrière*
See Hart's "How Our Grandfathers Lived," pp. 243–249.
b. The Capture of Washington
See Hart's "How Our Grandfathers Lived," pp. 274–282.
c. The Battle of New Orleans
See Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 139–147.

3. Give as many reasons as you can, explaining the large influence that the Monroe Doctrine has had in American history.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE NEW NATION (CHAPTERS X, XI, XII, XIII)

I. Starting the new government.
  A. The first amendments.
  B. Hamilton's measures for financing the government.
  C. Opposition to Hamilton's measures: the Whisky Rebellion.
  D. The development of the political parties.
  E. Relations with Europe.
    1. Troubles with England due to the French Revolution: Jay's Treaty.
    2. Troubles with France.
      a. The X Y Z Mission.
      b. The "informal war" with France.
  F. Domestic problems growing out of the French Revolution: The Alien and Sedition laws.

II. The expansion of the new nation.
  A. The attitude of Jefferson's party toward western development.
  B. The Louisiana Purchase.
    1. Reasons for the purchase.
      a. The desire for more land and for a free water-route to the Gulf of Mexico.
      b. The danger of French dominion in the West.
      c. Napoleon's willingness to sell the territory.
    2. Results of the purchase.
      a. Criticism immediately following the purchase.
      b. Expeditions to explore the new territory.
  C. The Florida Purchase.

III. The organization and settlement of the Middle West.
  A. Surrender by the older states of their claims to western territory.
  B. The organization of the Northwest Territory: the Ordinance of 1787.
  C. The organization of the region south of the Ohio.
  D. The gateways to the West and the four eras of travel.
  E. The settlement of the Middle West.
    1. The settlement of the region south of the Ohio.

        2. The settlement of the region north of the Ohio.
        3. The movement down the Ohio and Mississippi.
        4. The National Road and its effect upon settlement.
    F. The new states.
    G. The life of the people on the frontier.

IV. The events leading to the War of 1812 and the war itself.
    A. Events leading to the war.
        1. War between England and France and its effect on American commerce.
        2. Attempts by Congress to remedy the situation.
            a. The Embargo Act and its results.
            b. The Non-Intercourse Act.
        3. The impressment of American seamen.
        4. The *Chesapeake* affair.
    B. The War of 1812.
        1. The declaration of war.
        2. The attitude of New England: the Hartford Convention.
        3. American disasters on land.
        4. The naval exploits.
        5. Jackson's victory at New Orleans.
        6. The Treaty of Ghent.
    C. Political results of the war.

V. The Spanish-American republics and the Monroe Doctrine.
    A. The Spanish colonies win their independence.
    B. The Holy Alliance formed: the danger of this Alliance to the United States.
    C. The Monroe Doctrine.

Important names:

Presidents: Washington (1789–1797), John Adams (1797–1801), Jefferson (1801–1809), Madison (1809–1817), and Monroe (1817–1825).

Political Leaders: Alexander Hamilton and John Jay.

Military and Naval Leaders: Oliver Hazard Perry and Andrew Jackson.

Pioneers and Explorers: Daniel Boone, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Zebulon Pike.

European Leader: Napoleon Bonaparte.

Important dates: 1803; 1812; 1823.

CHAPTER XIV

THREE DECADES OF DOMESTIC POLITICS (1815–1845)

From the opening of President Monroe's administration (1817) to the close of President Tyler's term (1845) every section of the country increased marvelously in wealth and power. In the Northeast manufactures went forward with giant strides; in the South and Southwest vast wildernesses were reduced to great plantations with amazing speed; and in the West the frontier rolled onward in an irresistible wave, leaving behind a broad empire of prosperous farms. This economic development made a deep mark on politics, — on the four main issues which absorbed the attention of the voters and their leaders: (1) the protection of American industries, (2) internal improvements, (3) the sale of public lands, and (4) the second United States bank. Before the close of the period a fifth issue appeared in full view: slavery.

I. The Protective Tariff

The Key to the Tariff Issue. — In order to understand the first of these issues, the tariff, it is necessary to review briefly the history of industry from the Declaration of Independence to the War of 1812. When the Revolution broke out many factories and foundries had already been started in the colonies, and as soon as all relations with England were severed the Americans simply had to manufacture for themselves or perish. Fortunately they had the initiative and skill to meet the situation. Old industries grew to large proportions and new industries were established. When peace came it was clear to far-seeing men like Hamilton that the Americans could manufacture for themselves; in other words, could become *industrially* as well as *politically* independent of Great Britain.

English Competition for American Markets. — Meanwhile British merchants and manufacturers were alert. Having been unable for a period of seven years to export their wares to the New World, they found themselves overstocked with woolens, cotton cloth, and hardware. They were so anxious to sell this surplus that, when peace was established in 1783, they offered it to the Americans at 25 per cent below the prices they asked in London. They sought in this way not only to dispose of their surplus, but to win back the American trade the war had cost them. They were succeeding, for in the year following the Peace of 1783, $18,397,335 worth of goods was imported into the United States, and only $3,746,725 worth exported.

The Demand for Protection of American Industries. — American manufacturers accordingly asked the government to protect them at once against being undersold by the foreign manufacturers who were dumping cheap goods into the United States. The response came quickly. The very first Congress of the United States under the Constitution passed a law putting low duties on certain imported articles which competed with goods made in this country.

Effect of the War of 1812 on American Manufacturing. — The War of 1812 had about the same effect on trade as the Revolutionary War. It cut off goods from England again, although some were smuggled into the United States in spite of the watchfulness of the government. It forced Americans to manufacture more for themselves and got them into the habit of buying all kinds of American-made goods. The iron foundries and textile mills were especially busy. Hundreds of business men invested money in these concerns, and thousands of workingmen and women and children were drawn from the farms or from Europe into the towns where the mills were located.

As the London *Times* said of the Americans: "Their first war with England made them independent; their second made them formidable."

England Again "Dumps" Goods on the American Market. — At the close of the War of 1812 the same thing happened that had occurred at the close of the Revolutionary War. The English merchants had on hand surplus stocks of goods which they threw into the American market at a low price.

The amount of importations from England in 1816 rose higher than ever. American mills closed down and their managers were ruined. The price of wool fell in the home market, the surplus wool clip was sent to England, and many of the costly Merino sheep that had been imported from Spain were killed for mutton and tallow. Iron manufacturers of the seaboard put out their fires. All but five of the forty plants of Morris County, New Jersey, were prostrated; the works were sold at auction and the employees scattered. The bagging industry of Lexington, Kentucky, was wrecked by the flood of cotton bagging which was brought in at a price far below the cost of production.

The Tariff of 1816. — Naturally a cry went up again that the government should raise the tariff rates and protect American industries against the cheap goods of Europe. At this time the manufacturers of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were joined (1) by the farmers of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, whose wool, hemp, and flax brought better prices in a protected American market than in England, and (2) by the sugar planters of Louisiana, who could not compete with those of Cuba and Jamaica.

In New England sentiment about the tariff was divided. The mill owners demanded protection for industries; but the shipowners were not in favor of it, because they wanted a brisk trade with England which would employ their ships at sea. They were afraid that building up home industries would reduce the ocean freight. The demand for protection was so strong, however, that in 1816 a law was passed raising the tariff to a height which would have shocked the members of the Congress that passed the first law of 1789.

In the early days the farmers and planters generally had regarded the protective tariff as a device for the sole benefit of manufacturers. Now some of them looked upon it as a means for developing a "home market" for agricultural produce to take the place, in part at least, of the European markets which were likely to be shut off at any time by war.

An Era of Speculation Ends in Financial Panic. — Between 1816 and 1819 there was an era of feverish business enterprise — "frenzied finance." Business men borrowed large sums of banks to embark on fanciful schemes. Manufacturers, encouraged by the protective tariff, enlarged their plants and doubled their output. Companies bought up land in lots of thousands of acres, and borrowed money on their property in order to buy more tracts. Farmers mortgaged their lands to make improvements. Large sums were sunk in canals and post roads that could not pay dividends.

A dreadful panic was the result of this craze. Thousands of men lost all they had, and the jails were full of people who could not pay their debts. Banks issued paper money in large quantities, and there were so many kinds of money in circulation that merchants would have to say to customers when asked the price of anything: "What kind of money have you?"

II. Political Leadership Still Centered in the East

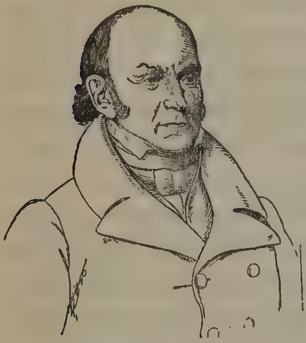
The Administrations of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams. — Although the panic was serious, the country recovered and in a few years prosperity set in again. The industries of New England and the middle states flourished so vigorously that the rapid growth of the West did not overcome for a time the balance of power held on the seaboard.

From 1801 to 1829 there were four Presidents — Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Adams. All of them were eastern men who had been brought up in cultivated families, and had had the advantages which come from the possession of wealth. None of them had ever been compelled to work with his hands. They were all known as Republicans, and expressed their sympathy with "the people"; but they were not "sons of the soil" acquainted through first-hand knowledge with the hardships and labors of the farmers.

James Monroe, President (1817–1825): the "Era of Good Feeling." — The southern and western voters and politicians were not yet well enough organized seriously to dispute eastern leadership. From 1816 to 1824, they put forth no candidates for President. The Federalist party disappeared from national politics entirely after 1816, and the next few years were called "The Era of Good Feeling."

When Monroe was chosen President in 1816, there was practically no opposition to him, and he was almost unanimously reëlected four years later. During his administration of eight years there was only one political event which threatened to divide the country. That was the contest over slavery which resulted in the Missouri Compromise (see page 370).

The strong action of President Monroe in getting possession of Florida by seizure and by purchase in 1819 was generally approved (see page 206). His famous message of 1823 which gave to the world the "Monroe Doctrine" (see page 242) was heartily applauded and greatly increased his popularity throughout the country.



John Quincy Adams

The Campaign of 1824. John Quincy Adams President. — Although no division into parties had occurred in Monroe's administrations, there was a sharp conflict among four distinguished candidates for the presidency in 1824, and the voice of the Southwest was heard in the campaign. The East was represented in the strife by John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, son of John Adams, the second President of the United States. Virginia, which had supplied three Presidents in succession, had no prominent candidate this time, but the South had three men: W. H. Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. The contest was so close that no one received a majority, but Jackson stood first.

As a result of the division of the votes, the choice of President, according to the provisions of the Constitution, was thrown into the House of Representatives; and, by a good deal of skillful maneuvering, Adams was elected.

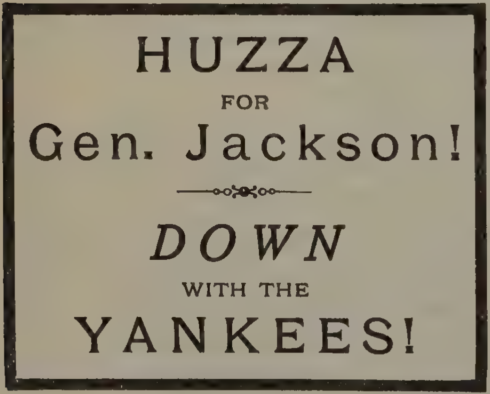
This deeply angered Jackson's supporters, who thought that his popular vote entitled him to the office. They were still more angry when Adams appointed Clay to the office of Secretary of State. They at once declared that there had been a "deal" by which Clay helped to elect Adams President in return for the promise of an office.

The "Tariff of Abominations." — During his administration of four years, Adams was unable to overcome the popular hostility aroused by the way in which he had been chosen. Like his illustrious father, he was a stern and reserved man, not much given to seeking popularity; and like his father also, he was unable to secure a reëlection at the end of his term. His troubles were notably increased by the passage of the Tariff Bill of 1828, which became known as the "Tariff of Abominations" because it placed the tariff on manufactured goods at a higher point than ever before. The southern states were greatly incensed over it, and their leaders denounced Adams as betraying the country for the benefit of the New England manufacturers. The division in the country was so marked that the "Era of Good Feeling" came to an end.

Opposition to the Tariff in the South. — The tariff law of 1828 was criticized by the southern states as "sectional legislation" for the benefit of the North. Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, and North Carolina declared it to be a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and a convention was held in Augusta to protest against every form of "protection." Northern manufacturers, in fighting for the tariff, were developing the industrial life in that section. The South, on the other hand, was wholly agricultural. Its prosperity depended upon the sale of its cotton, especially in England, whose spinning mills and looms were the wonder of mankind. Manufacturing nothing, and having to buy nearly everything, the southerners held that they should be allowed to make their purchases freely in England, where they sold most of their produce. They claimed also that the tariff raised the price of manufactures, and that the farmers, as buyers of such goods, had to pay the difference — in other words, pay tribute to American capitalists who owned the mills. Southern statesmen like Calhoun, who had voted for the tariff of 1816, frankly abandoned the principle of protection and began to advocate "free trade" with all the world. The conflict took the form, in the main, of a struggle between southern planters and northern manufacturers. The farmers of the West held the balance of power.

III. Jacksonian Democracy. Power of the East Contested

Jackson Elected President (1828). — With the South thoroughly dissatisfied about the tariff, and the West divided over the matter, Adams was defeated in the election of 1828 by his formidable opponent, Andrew Jackson, although the contest was much closer than the friends of the latter had expected.



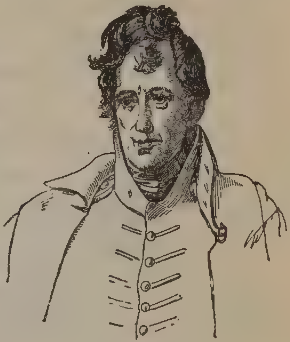
HUZZA
FOR
Gen. Jackson!

DOWN
WITH THE
YANKEES!

Much reduced

Poster Used in the Presidential Campaign of 1828

Jackson was truly "a man of the people." He was born in the upland regions of South Carolina in 1767. His parents were poor farmers, and he was brought up in the hard school of adversity. In early life he went over into the frontiers of Tennessee, where he was known as a brave man, and a quarrelsome one. He was a courageous army officer and endeared himself to his men by sharing all the hardships of campaigns with them, sleeping on the ground, and eating parched corn when nothing better could be had for the common soldiers. He was so vigorous in body that he was called "Old Hickory."


ANDREW JACKSON

When he was elected, therefore, in 1828, the common people felt that they had a true representative in the White House, and thousands journeyed hundreds of miles to see him inaugurated. According to Daniel Webster, the great crowds at the White House "upset the bowls of punch, broke the glasses, and stood with their muddy boots on the satin-covered chairs to see the people's President." His followers thought that a great revolution had come; so they began to drop the old name "Republican" and to call themselves "Democrats"—to show that they were friends of "the people."

"To the Victors Belong the Spoils." — President Jackson expelled from office most of the federal employees, to make room for those who had supported him in the race for President. This was a new custom Other Presidents had discharged very few officers for holding different political opinions; but they had usually been careful, when vacancies occurred, to appoint men who were known to be in sympathy with their own views.

What Jackson did was to make a clean sweep of the old employees in order to find places for a new army of partisans. Thus a "spoils system" on a large scale was frankly adopted, and everywhere men began to declare that "to the victors belong the spoils of victory." In other words, men came to believe that those who worked hard to win victories in elections should have the offices if they won. The tone of politics was lowered by introducing a vulgar scramble for government jobs. Statesmen denounced it and poets ridiculed it. Calhoun saw in it a grave menace to the nation. James Russell Lowell poured scorn on it by representing a candidate for President of the United States promising a citizen a position as lighthouse keeper in return for his vote:

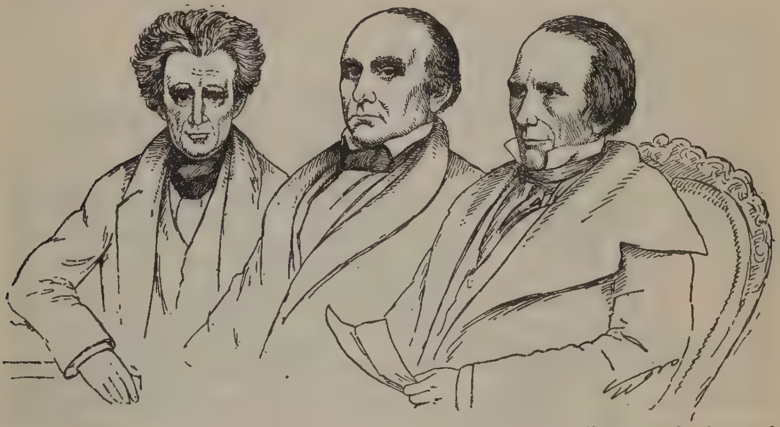
> Ef you git me inside the White House,
> Your head with ile I kin o' 'nint
> By gittin' *you* inside the Light-house
> Down to the eend o' Jaalam Pint.

Nevertheless all the political parties kept up the practice.

The Tariff Contest Continues. — Jackson soon became involved in the great controversy which arose between the North and the South over the "Tariff of Abominations." The contest over the tariff now became so serious, that it threatened to break up the Union.

The Doctrine of Nullification. — Calhoun was not content with merely talking about the effect of the tariff on the southern planters. He went further and declared that, while Congress had the power to levy customs duties on goods coming into the United States in order to raise revenues, it had no right under that power to be partial to any section of the country. He also declared that the Constitution of the United States was merely an agreement among free states, and that each state had the power to prevent the enforcement within its borders of any federal law which it deemed to be contrary to the Constitution. This principle was known as the doctrine of "Nullification."

The Webster-Hayne Debate. — The whole matter of nullification was argued out in the Senate in 1830, in the famous debate between Daniel Webster, Senator from Massachusetts, and Robert Hayne, Senator from South Carolina. The latter supported, in a powerful argument, Calhoun's view that the Constitution was a mere league between sovereign states, from which each one could withdraw at will.

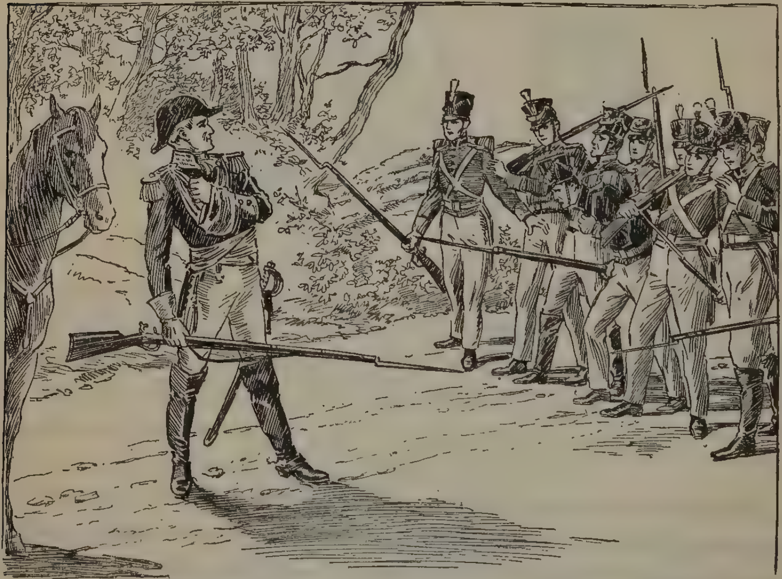


From a Brady photograph

CALHOUN, WEBSTER, AND CLAY

Webster, on the other hand, contended that the Union was not a league of states, but a solemn agreement made by the people of the United States. The federal government, he said, was "made by the people, and answerable to the people." He utterly rejected the idea that a state had the right to declare null and void an act passed by Congress. "If each state," he asked, "has the right to final judgment on questions in which she is interested, is not the whole Union a rope of sand?" The theory that a state might be in the Union and still refuse to obey the laws of the Union was impatiently brushed aside. He ended his great speech with the words which were destined to become immortal in American politics, — "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." His address was reprinted by the thousand and sent far and wide as the message of American nationalism, warning the country against nullification and secession.

Jackson's Firmness. — Southern statesmen, however, were not won over by eloquence. They resolved not to endure the "Tariff of Abominations"; and they were all the more determined when, in 1832, Congress passed another irritating tariff act. The South Carolinians, under the leadership of Calhoun, held a convention elected by the voters, which declared the tariff act null and void and prohibited in that state the collection of the duties. They



JACKSON'S FIRMNESS SHOWN IN HIS QUELLING A MUTINY AMONG HIS SOLDIERS thought that President Jackson, a southern man, would not interfere with them.

They had not properly reckoned with their President, for he replied that the Union must be preserved, and that if force was necessary he would send forty thousand men to South Carolina to compel obedience to the law. To a citizen of that state he said:

> Please give my compliments to my friends in your state and say to them that if a single drop of blood shall be shed there in opposition to the laws of the United States I will hang the first man I lay my hands on engaged in such conduct upon the first tree that I can reach.

He kept his word, and dispatched soldiers and warships to South Carolina. He called upon Congress for more power, and secured the passage of the "Force Bill," which gave him better means for compelling obedience to law.

The "Compromise Tariff." Henry Clay's Leadership. — However, a great many people who were not in favor of nullification sympathized with the people of South Carolina in resisting the tariff, and in the end a compromise was reached which the southern leaders called "a great victory." Jackson was supported in preserving the Union and enforcing the law; but the tariff act of 1832 was repealed, and another law, known as the "Compromise Tariff," was substituted for it. Under this new law the duties on goods were to be reduced until by 1842 they were to be at the point fixed by the law of 1816. In the arrangement of this compromise between the North and the South, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, took a prominent part.

Internal Improvements and Public Lands. — The country could now turn with relief to other issues. Strange as it may seem, the question of selling the lands owned by the federal government in the West, and the question of spending government money on roads and canals, were both connected with the tariff. The problem that faced the politicians of the East and the South was this:

> If the government sold the lands at a high price its revenues would multiply, and then the demand of the South for a lower tariff would resound louder than ever. If the lands were sold at a low price or given away, workmen from the East would rush out in larger numbers, and the factory owners would be in straits for hands and have to pay higher wages; then they would need a still higher tariff.

For a time a compromise was reached, in the form of the expenditure of large sums on canals and roads — internal improvements — to connect the interior regions with the seaboard. This appeared to be a patriotic public purpose. It also opened markets to eastern manufacturers. Although the followers of Jefferson had at first favored government action in building the national road, they later changed their opinion. Both Madison and Monroe vetoed acts of Congress appropriating money for such enterprises, and Jackson followed their example. But the controversy over the lands and internal improvements continued long after Jackson's day.

Jackson Reëlected; The United States Bank Controversy. — While Jackson was busy with nullification in South Carolina he had to face the fourth leading political issue of this period. In 1791 the federal government had chartered a United States Bank with branches all over the country (see page 184), and in 1816 the Second United States Bank on the same plan had been chartered for a period of twenty years. Soon after its establishment it was violently opposed, particularly by farmers and planters of the West and South. They thought that it was a "great money power" associated with the manufacturers who benefited from the protective tariff.

Andrew Jackson shared this view. Shortly after his inauguration in 1829 he served notice that he was opposed to the Bank and would not approve continuing it after its charter expired in 1836. The friends of the Bank, under the leadership of Henry Clay, met Jackson's attack by having Congress pass an act rechartering the Bank. This law Jackson promptly vetoed, and in the election of 1832 Clay, who ran for President against Jackson, made an issue out of the question of continuing the Bank. He was badly defeated by "the Hero of New Orleans."

The Bank Controversy Continues. — Jackson regarded his second election as a popular approval of his war on the Bank. Its charter, however, did not expire until 1836, and he decided to destroy it by another method. It had been the practice of the government to keep millions of dollars on deposit in the Bank and its branches. From this fund the Bank derived large profits because it was able to lend the money at a good rate of interest. In 1833 Jackson issued an order that the government should put no more money into the Bank, and that the funds then on deposit should be drawn out as quickly as possible. As the new revenues came in, Jackson provided that they should be placed in certain selected state banks owned by his friends and known as "pet banks."

Financial Prosperity Ends in the Panic of 1837. — The destruction of the Bank was followed by a great panic in 1837. Hundreds of business men failed, more than six hundred banks were closed, and thousands of working people were again thrown out of employment. The panic lasted for nearly five years.

IV. The Whig Party

Van Buren and Clay. — When he came to the close of his second term, Jackson was able to secure the election of his friend, Martin Van Buren, of New York, as his successor, after a close contest. In 1831 Jackson's opponents had organized a new party known as the "National Republicans," or more popularly the "Whigs," after the great English political party which had once stoutly resisted the power of the king. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was a brilliant leader among the Whigs, and seemed to be destined to the presidency. But it was not to be. He had so many political enemies that he never reached the goal of his ambition. His party, however, succeeded in winning two victories — in 1840 and in 1848.

A LOG CABIN, A SYMBOL OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1840

Harrison and the Victory of 1840. — So strong was the opposition to Clay that in 1840 the Whigs even refused to nominate him for President. They chose as their candidate General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, who was well known on account of his defeat of the Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe (1811) and also for his part in the War of 1812. As a western man, Harrison was popular among the people who loved Andrew Jackson, while Van Buren, a candidate for reëlection, was attacked as an aristocrat who used gold tableware in the White House.

When some Democrat declared that Harrison was a backwoodsman whose sole wants were a log cabin and a jug of cider, the Whigs took up the insult. They chose a log cabin with a coonskin stretched on the outside and a jug of cider as their election symbol. Although they put forward no platform showing what they stood for, they were able to elect General Harrison.

John Tyler Succeeds Harrison. — The hero of Tippecanoe was not long to enjoy the fruits of victory. When the Whigs came to power, they adopted the "spoils system" introduced by Jackson, and thousands of office-seekers descended upon him. Within one month Harrison died suddenly, worn out with the troubles of his high office. He was succeeded by the Vice President, John Tyler, of Virginia, a man who was more Democrat than Whig, and had been selected as a candidate in order to draw Democratic votes from the South.

Tyler's Unpopularity. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty. — Tyler's administration had few friends. He was disliked by both Whigs and Democrats—by the former because he did not approve the establishment of another United States Bank, and by the latter because he moved so slowly in the annexation of Texas, not yielding until the closing days of his administration. (See p. 274.)

During his administration there were only two events of striking importance. In 1842 a new tariff law was passed, undoing the Compromise Act which had brought about a truce between the North and the South in 1833. In that same year there was signed by Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, and Lord Ashburton, representing Great Britain, a treaty between the two countries which settled a long-standing dispute over the northern boundaries of Maine. The United States secured a small piece of Canada north of Vermont and New York, in exchange for a section of Maine to the extreme northeast.

Tyler's administration was unfortunate for the Whig party. In the contest of 1844 the Democrats succeeded in electing their candidate, James K. Polk, of Tennessee. By this time the country was coming face to face with new issues: the annexation of Texas and the growth of slavery.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. In what way had the Revolution stimulated American manufacturing industries? What was the effect of peace upon these industries? 2. Compare the effect of the War of 1812 upon industry with the effect of the Revolution. Why and in what ways did the English attempt to regain the American markets after the war? 3. What is meant by a protective tariff? How was the country divided upon this issue and what were the reasons for this division?

II. 1. Compare the political leaders of the West with those of the East during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. 2. What is meant by the "Era of Good Feeling"? 3. State the important provisions of the Missouri Compromise. Point out on a map the region affected (see page 370). 4. How did John Quincy Adams come to be President of the United States? Find and read the provision of the Constitution which made this election possible. 5. Why was the tariff of 1828 known as the "Tariff of Abominations"?

III. 1. Contrast Andrew Jackson with the Presidents before his time. In what ways was he typical of the western life? 2. What is meant by the "spoils system" in politics? How have the evils of the spoils system been lessened in the present organization of the federal government? What appointive officers are now generally removed when a new political party comes into power? 3. What is meant by "nullification"? What did those who defended the rights of the states to nullify acts of the Congress think of the union of the states? 4. What was Jackson's attitude toward those who threatened nullification? 5. Why did the people of the South and West generally oppose the United States Bank? What people supported the policy of the government in maintaining the Bank and why?

IV. 1. What important changes were made in the names of the national political parties during Jackson's administration? Which of the two great parties of to-day more closely resembles the party of Andrew Jackson? To what party did Clay belong?

2. Name the important provisions of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

Review: Find in table of Presidents (Appendix, page 645) the names, dates, and length of service, and political parties of the Presidents from Madison to Polk. Who, in your opinion, was the greatest of these Presidents and why? Whom would you rank second and why?

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Be ready to give the class an interesting talk about the life and work of Andrew Jackson.

See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 149–157; Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History" (description of the Battle of New Orleans), pp. 139–147; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," ch. ix.

2. The presidential campaign of 1840 has been described as the most remarkable in the history of the country up to that time. Find some of the reasons.

See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. i, ch. xii.

3. Tell the story of the Webster-Hayne Debate.

See Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," ch. x; Brooks's "Stories of the Old Bay State," pp. 192–199.

CHAPTER XV

WESTWARD TO THE PACIFIC

The election of Presidents, the alarms of statesmen, the fortunes of political parties did not stay or turn the tide of migration flowing westward. While Webster and Hayne debated, while Calhoun and Clay disputed over the rights of states and the schedules of tariff bills as if the fate of America hung in the balance, pioneers on the advancing frontier were laying the foundations of a new western empire.

> What strength! what strife! what rude unrest!
> What shocks! What half-shaped armies met!
> A mighty nation moving west,
> With all its steel sinews set
> Against the living forest. Hear
> The shouts, the shots of pioneer,
> The rended forests, rolling wheels,
> As if some half-checked army reels,
> Recoils, redoubles, comes again,
> Loud sounding like a hurricane. — *Joaquin Miller.*

Long before Indiana and Illinois were crowded, or Michigan and Wisconsin settled, the restless current began to press on. Vagrant spirits and home seekers alike turned to the Far West where life was full of adventure and untold acres awaited the plow.

I. MISSOURI, ARKANSAS, AND IOWA; AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS IN TEXAS

Missouri Represented Both Southern and Northern Elements. — Missouri, with its rich lands and mild winters, attracted pioneers mainly from the South — from Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. To these settlers were added a goodly number from the North who came down the Mississippi in flatboats. Thus two streams of immigration flowed together.

The Admission of Missouri (1821). — Naturally the southern immigrants into Missouri, who owned slaves, took them along into the new country. In 1820, ten thousand of the sixty thousand inhabitants were bondmen, among whom were many skilled artisans, smiths, carpenters, and masons as well as field hands. When the time came to make a state out of the territory, a contest arose between the slave owners and the friends of freedom; but Missouri was allowed to come into the Union with slavery as a result of a compromise (see page 370). Thus assured, planters came in larger numbers than ever, and the farming land was quickly taken up. The old French post, St. Louis, grew into a thriving commercial city, enriched by the fur trade of the West and the steamboat traffic on the Mississippi.

Arkansas: a New Cotton State. — Below Missouri was the territory of Arkansas, where rich valleys suitable for cotton culture were drawing slave owners in search of more plantations. These newcomers found the country already partly occupied by "squatters," who had "just moved in" and taken possession of lands without asking the permission of any one or taking the trouble to secure deeds from the government. They had gone across the Mississippi in search of a wild free life, and many of them lived and dressed very much like their neighbors, the Cherokee

Indians. The squatters and planters combined did not make a very large population, but in 1836 Arkansas was admitted as a slave state to balance the free state of Michigan.

Iowa Settled from the East. — To the north of Missouri lay Iowa, where the tall grass on the prairies waved like the sea and the forests were filled with the blossoms of dogwood and wild rose. To this beautiful country came farmers and their families, mainly from New England, New York, and Ohio, who preferred to settle where the climate and the crops were about the same as those to which they were accustomed in the "old states, back home." Free men also preferred soil where there was no slave labor. Farms spread far and wide. By 1836 three trading towns, Dubuque, Davenport, and Burlington, had been founded on the Mississippi; and ten years later the state was admitted to the Union. The advancement of learning was cherished as in the old homes, for within a few years numerous academies and five colleges had been founded.

Immigration Spreads to the Far West. — With the admission of Iowa in 1846, a tier of states had been formed from Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi to Minnesota, which was not taken into the Union until 1858, ten years after Wisconsin was admitted. Settlers began to move along the great reaches of the Missouri River; then over into the Kansas and Nebraska region. To the southward, the hustling pioneers and planters of Louisiana found themselves blocked by the borders of Texas, a part of Mexico. The lands across the boundary were fertile, adapted to slave labor, and mostly unoccupied; but they belonged to a foreign government.

Texas Still Foreign Soil. — At the time of the purchase in 1803, the boundaries of Louisiana were not well defined, and the people of that territory contended that they lay west and south of the points claimed by Spain. However, the disputed boundary question was settled in 1819, when Florida was purchased, and the border line was so fixed as to surrender a large area claimed by Americans in the western country. The people of the Southwest were very angry about this. They declared that a part of their heritage had been given away to Mexicans and should be won back as soon as possible.

From a print of the times

THE OLD FRENCH POST, ST. LOUIS, A THRIVING COMMERCIAL CITY

American Immigration into Texas. Moses Austin.— Fortune favored them. In 1810 the Mexicans had revolted against Spain, and, after years of fighting and disorder, they secured their independence. The United States of Mexico, a weak union, was then formed, including the coveted Texas. Very soon Americans began to cross over the line and to settle along the road from the border to San Antonio.

Mexico did not at first resent this immigration. On the contrary, the Mexican government invited settlers to come and take up the unoccupied lands. It made large grants of territory to contractors who agreed to bring a given number of families into Texas. Among these contractors was Moses Austin, from Connecticut, who had been engaged in lead mining in the West. He secured in 1820 permission to settle three hundred Americans near Bexar. The contract was carried out by his son, and the present town of Austin was named after him.

In ten years twenty thousand Americans had gone over the border. The Mexicans were frightened, especially when the American government made attempts to buy Texas.

Trouble between Americans and Mexicans in Texas. — In a little while quarrels began to break out between the newcomers and the natives in Texas. The Mexicans, who were Catholics, complained that the American Protestants did not show the proper respect for their religion, and the Americans complained that they had no share in the government. Fearing that the latter might seize Texas, Mexico stopped the colonization schemes, canceled most of the land grants, put a tariff on American farming implements, and abolished slavery.

Then the Americans already in Texas, the southern planters who wanted to move over into that rich territory with their slaves, and the pioneers of the Southwest who liked adventure for its own sake, determined to get possession of Texas at all costs. Many warlike spirits went over to help. Davy Crockett, a noted frontiersman, a crack shot, and a good story teller, from Tennessee, was one of them. James Bowie, of Georgia, who was famous as the inventor of the Bowie knife, a peculiar kind of weapon, likewise joined in the American rush to Texas. Restless men of this type could not endure the thought of living under the Mexican government, and they soon made it known that they would be their own masters.

II. Texas a Republic; Its Admission to the Union; the Resulting War with Mexico

Texas Declares Its Independence from Mexico. *The Alamo. Sam Houston Defeats Santa Ana.* — Although the Americans were only about one fourth of the Texas population, they revolted against the Mexican government and proclaimed their independence at a convention held in 1836. The declaration of independence was signed by fifty-six men: three Mexicans, five Americans from free states, and forty-eight from slave states. Santa Ana, the President of Mexico, hearing of this action, marched northward to punish the "rebels," and at the Alamo, an old mission on the present site of San Antonio, he absolutely destroyed the garrison of soldiers.

The defense of this fort is one of the most heroic events in American military history, for the men fought with desperate bravery to the very last. Santa Ana demanded that the Texans surrender, on pain of being executed if they resisted. The commander of the Alamo answered this with a cannon shot, and true to his threat, the Mexican general kept up the fight until every member of the garrison was killed, even the sick in the hospital.

A few weeks later, General Sam Houston, who had served in the War of 1812 and had been governor of Tennessee, put himself at the head of the Texas forces. He completely defeated Santa Ana at the San Jacinto River in April, 1836, taking even the Mexican general prisoner.

President Jackson and the Texan Republic.—The power of Mexico being broken, the Texans established a republic with General Houston at the head. They then turned to the

President of the United States, Andrew Jackson, thinking that he would make a treaty with them with the consent of the Senate, and admit the republic, as a state, to the Union. But Jackson hesitated about annexation and went out of office in March, 1837, leaving Texas still uncertain as to her future.

Controversy over the Admission of Texas. — There was a strong reason for urging delay. The people of the United States were divided as to the wisdom and justice of the course which Americans had pursued.

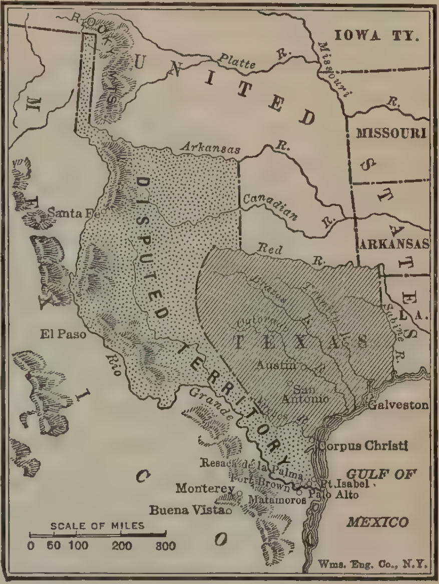
General Sam Houston and His Texas Rangers

William Lloyd Garrison, of Massachusetts, who was then denouncing slavery and demanding its complete abolition, declared that the conduct of his countrymen in Texas had been outrageous. He urged the northern states to separate from the South and form a free country if Texas was brought into the Union.

John Quincy Adams, who had been President from 1825 to 1829, likewise opposed annexation, holding that the

Texas Revolution was a slave owners' plot to seize the territory of a friendly country. Annexation, he said, was proof that the United States, like countries of Europe, was ready to follow a policy of conquest and imperialism.

On the other hand, John C. Calhoun, the great statesman of South Carolina, argued that the admission of Texas was absolutely necessary to the preservation of the Union. It would give, he said, the slaveholding states a "balance of power" in the country as against the states of the North, which were rapidly growing in wealth and population.



TEXAS AND THE TERRITORY IN DISPUTE

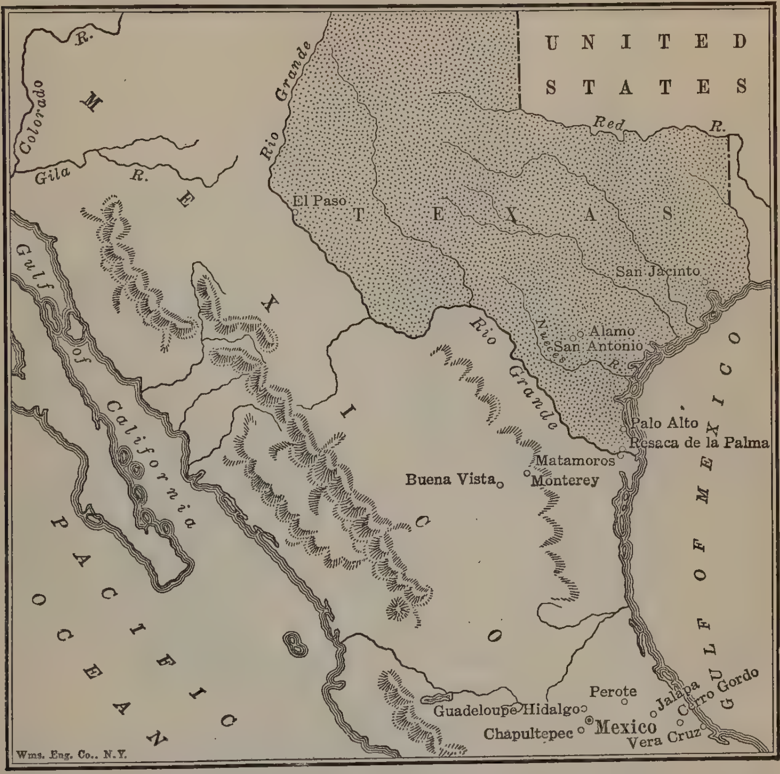
Texas Finally Admitted to the Union (1845). — The government of the United States for a long time took no open steps toward annexation. Jackson's successor, President Van Buren, was a northern man and really opposed to slavery. During his administration, from 1837 to 1841, the admission of Texas was out of the question. It is not probable that the Whig President, General William Henry Harrison, would have brought Texas into the Union, had he lived to serve out his term (p. 263).

Harrison died after he had been in office a few weeks, and Tyler, the Vice President, succeeded him. Tyler was from Virginia; he was at heart a Democrat; and he favored slavery. In 1844 he appointed to the office of Secretary of State John C. Calhoun, who at once made a treaty with Texas, agreeing to annex her to the United States. This treaty, however, did not receive the required two-thirds vote of the Senate.

The advocates of annexation then discovered another way out. They pushed through both houses of Congress a joint resolution (which required only a majority vote) admitting Texas to the Union as a state. This occurred in February, 1845, just before Tyler's successor, James K. Polk, came into office. "The reannexation of Texas" had been one of the issues in the presidential election of 1844, and the victory of Polk, who had openly favored it, was regarded as an approval of the plan by the voters of the country.

War with Mexico (1846). — Almost immediately after the annexation of Texas, a dispute arose between the United States and Mexico over the boundary line. The Texans claimed all of the land south and west down to the Rio Grande River. The Mexicans replied that the right boundary was the Nueces River and a line running from that river in a northerly direction. President Polk accepted the Texan view of the matter, and ordered General Zachary Taylor to the northern bank of the Rio Grande to defend the possessions of the United States. The Mexicans declared that this was an invasion of their territory, and they fired upon some American soldiers, killing and wounding several. President Polk thereupon proclaimed that war existed "by the act of Mexico herself," and Congress voted money to carry on the armed conflict thus begun.

The Three Campaigns of the War. — The war which then ensued was divided into three parts: (1) General Taylor, operating in northern Mexico, defeated the Mexicans at Monterey and Buena Vista and occupied the chief points in the Mexican states in that region. (2) In the West, the American naval commanders, Sloat and Stockton, aided by the explorer, John C. Frémont, seized California. The new possession was made secure by General Kearny, who had gone overland from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, with a body of soldiers. (3) General Winfield Scott, with a large army, landed at Vera Cruz and fought his way slowly up to the gates of Mexico City, where, after some parleying with the Mexicans over peace, he stormed the heights of Chapultepec and took the capital itself.



FIELD OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO

Peace Declared (1848). Results of the War. — Defeated everywhere, the Mexicans were forced to make a treaty of peace on February 2, 1848. They ceded to the victor California, Arizona, New Mexico, and all territory to the north and west of the Rio Grande to the borders of the United States, in return for fifteen million dollars cash and the canceling of many claims held by American citizens against the Mexican government.[1] Thus as a result of the war there was added to the United States 523,802 square miles — an area greater than the combined area of France and Germany in Europe.

General Scott Entering Mexico

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[1] In 1853 the United States purchased from Mexico a strip of territory along the southern borders of Arizona and New Mexico for $10,000,000. This transaction was arranged by James Gadsden, and is known as the "Gadsden Purchase."

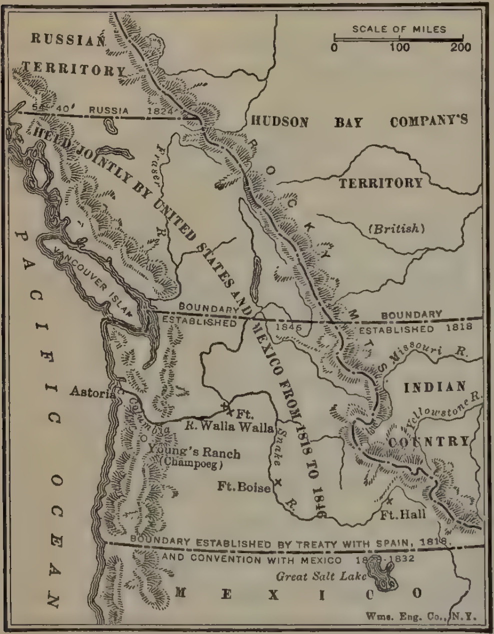
III. OREGON, CALIFORNIA, AND UTAH

Oregon. — During the trouble with Mexico a controversy was carried on with Great Britain over the boundary of the Oregon country. That region was claimed by the United States because of Gray's discovery of the Columbia River in 1792 and on other grounds; but there was much uncertainty as to its limits on the north. The United States asserted that Oregon extended upward to the borders of the Russian territory of Alaska, the parallel of 54° 40′. Great Britain utterly rejected this claim, and in 1818 the two countries agreed to hold the disputed lands in common for ten years, leaving the settlement of the affair until some future date. At the time, neither nation appreciated the importance of that far-off region.

Settled by New Englanders. Marcus Whitman. — It was not long, however, before citizens of the United States began to take an interest in the Oregon country. The famous exploit of Lewis and Clark had been described in their remarkable journal; and a popular edition of the work issued in 1811 had made known to thousands of American citizens the existence of a country of vast resources, beyond the arid plains and the towering mountains. In that year, John Jacob Astor's fur hunters had established a post at Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River.

In 1835 Dr. Marcus Whitman was sent out to Oregon by the American Board of Missions to convert the Indians. He soon saw how rich the country was and urged Congress to act at once in order to secure American control. The following year he made a trip East, and returned to Oregon with a little company of settlers, including his wife. Six years later he made a special trip East to renew his urgent appeal for aid. It is sometimes said that he "saved Oregon," but this is a mere legend.

Dispute over the Boundary. "Fifty-four Forty, or Fight." — Oregon was now becoming famous all over the United States. Missionaries of various denominations were active in taking out settlers and converting the Indians. In 1843, it is recorded that 875 emigrants crossed the famous "Oregon trail"; the next year 1800 people went; and the next year 3000 more joined the forerunners. In 1843, the pioneers in the Willamette Valley held a meeting at Young's Ranch (Champoeg) and formed a government for the territory. Having braved the wilderness and set up their own government, the Americans naturally wanted the boundary question settled, and were ready to fight off British interference by arms if necessary.



THE OREGON COUNTRY AND THE DISPUTED BOUNDARY

In the presidential election of 1844, the Oregon question was linked with the Texas question and the politicians talked about "the reannexation of Texas" and "the reoccupation of Oregon." They declared that they would have all of Oregon. "Fifty-four forty, or fight" was a slogan in the campaign. However, President Polk and his advisers, on taking counsel, decided to avoid trouble with the English. So they compromised with Great Britain in 1846, and surrendered all the American claims to territory above the forty-ninth parallel.

This settlement, unsatisfactory as it was to many people in Oregon, at least did away with all uncertainty, and the region was organized as a regular territory in 1848. Eleven years later, after the territory of Washington had been created out of the northern and eastern portions, the southern part was admitted to the Union as the free state of Oregon.

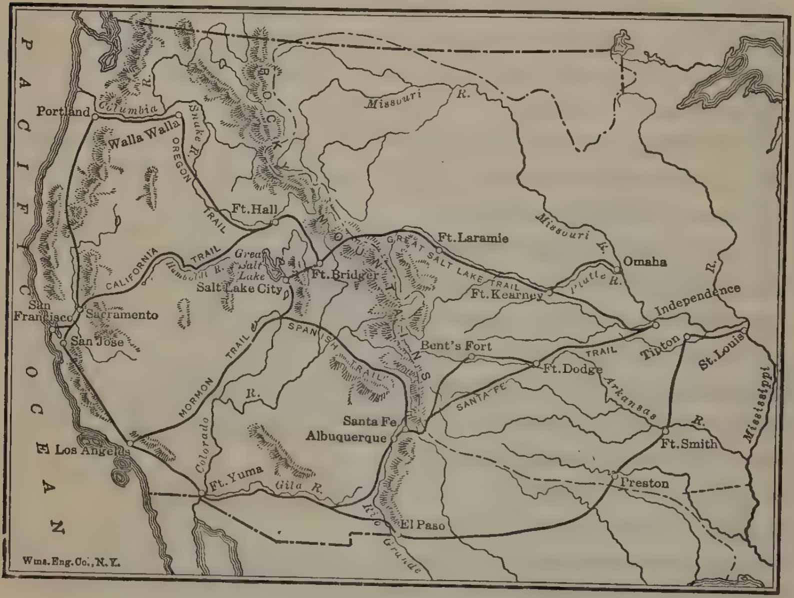
California. *The Early Trade with Indians and Spaniards.* — When California was brought under the Stars and Stripes by the war with Mexico, it was by no means an unknown country. Already hundreds of roving, enterprising Americans had pushed out to the coast and traded with the Spanish, or settled down among them to till the fertile soil.

CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC.

THE "BEAR" FLAG OF THE FIRST CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT

After the War of 1812, Yankee ship captains in large numbers began to round Cape Horn and visit California with cargoes of hardware, guns, ammunition, cloth, blankets, and leather goods. In 1823, for instance, Captain Cooper, with the good ship *Rover*, went from Boston to Monterey with a cargo of cotton and "Yankee notions," and received a license to trade. Captain Cooper loaded his ship with furs and sailed to China, where he exchanged his cargo for silks and tea and other products, which he brought back to California.

The Santa Fé Trail. — While New England seamen were opening ocean commerce with California, landsmen in the West were breaking an overland route. Zebulon Pike, whose famous expedition we have already described, called attention in a book published in 1808 to the rich resources of northern "New Spain"; that is, the region now included in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Pike also pointed out how easy it would be to reach Santa Fé from the Arkansas River. Thereafter traders with stores of cottons, silks, chinaware, glass, hardware, and ammunition journeyed from time to time from points on the Arkansas River across the desert to Santa Fé, and made large profits by exchanging their goods for Mexican and Indian blankets, furs, silver, and mules.



THE OVERLAND TRAILS

In 1825, Congress appropriated money to lay out a trail from Franklin, Missouri, to Santa Fé. Later Independence became the starting point of the Santa Fé caravans. Great trains of wagons guarded by armed men were dispatched annually with goods which had been brought up the Missouri by boat.

Sometimes these trading bands were beset by murderous Indians bent on robbing them, or at least stampeding the mules to the desert to be caught at leisure. Sometimes they lost the trail when sand storms covered it; and hundreds perished of thirst and hunger. Still the profits of the trade were so large that adventurous drivers and fighters could always be found to make the trip.

From Santa Fé to the Coast. — When once the route to Santa Fé was established it was only a short time until a trail was broken to the coast. In 1829 Ewing Young went overland from a post near Santa Fé to Los Angeles, and soon the trail to the coast became as famous as the older route to Santa Fé. Adventurers and settlers, finding the way open, began to cross the desert and mountains in large numbers. In 1847 there were more than four hundred Americans in a little settlement of less than two thousand on San Francisco Bay. They gave the name of the bay to the village and began to transform a humble trading-post into a great metropolis.

Gold Discovered in California (1848). California Admitted as a State (1850). — A mighty rush to California began in 1848, when it was announced to the world that gold had been discovered at Captain Sutter's sawmill raceway in the Sacramento Valley. Thousands caught the gold fever. The inhabitants of San Francisco and other towns deserted their shops and homes and went to the gold regions; captains and crews left their ships to rot in the harbor; miners from Europe rushed across the Atlantic and joined Americans from the East in the long overland journey, or went around Cape Horn; lawyers, doctors, and editors threw up their work to search for gold. It was estimated that one hundred thousand people went to California in 1850. The gold output was $5,000,000 in 1848, and $40,000,000 in 1849.

On account of the great increase in population the prices of ordinary supplies, food and clothing, mounted skyward. San Francisco washerwomen were paid eight dollars a dozen for washing miners' clothes. Little board shanties, called hotels, charged from seven dollars to fourteen dollars a day for poor rooms and worse board.

From a painting

SUTTER'S SAWMILL IN THE SACRAMENTO VALLEY WHERE GOLD WAS DISCOVERED

After a few years the surface gold was nearly all collected, and the stream of immigrant miners dwindled away. Ranching, fruit growing, and manufacturing assumed a normal course, and the "fever of '49" died down. One effect of the miners' invasion was to keep out slavery, and in 1850 California was admitted to the Union as a free state.

The Mormons. — During this rush to the Pacific, the great plains and deserts between the fertile Mississippi Valley and the coast were neglected except by the fur traders, hunters, and adventurers. It was left for a new religious sect to brave the barren wastes of that parched region and found a prosperous community on the route to California. This sect was the Mormons[1] or Latter Day Saints. It had been established in 1830 by Joseph Smith, of New York, who declared that he had received a revelation from God.

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[1] The name "Mormon" was taken from a prophet, Mormon, who was alleged to have compiled certain ancient writings. This "Book of Mormon" was said to have been discovered by Joseph Smith and translated by him. It was accepted as sacred by the Mormons.

The Mormons had a troublous time from the beginning. They went first to Ohio, then to Missouri, and at length settled in Illinois. There they began to practice polygamy, that is, to allow their men to marry more than one wife. This brought down upon them the hatred of their neighbors.

The Mormons Reach Salt Lake. Brigham Young.— Feeling that they were persecuted for their religious faith, they decided to move to the Far West, in the hope that they would be forever out of reach of their enemies. So in 1847, their new leader, Brigham Young, with a company of picked men and supplies, went out to hunt for another home. After a long search he chose a spot overlooking the Salt Lake Valley, in Utah, and then went back to bring his people with him to their safe haven in the desert, far from civilization. Out the band went, in a great train of several hundred wagons, and on their arrival they set to work with a will "to make the desert blossom as a rose." They verily did it.

They brought water from the mountains to irrigate the sandy soil. They built sawmills and gristmills, roads and bridges and canals, and soon had flourishing farms and thousands of cattle. Within a short time, the Mormon population numbered fifteen thousand people. The discovery of gold in California was fortunate for them, because Salt Lake City became a stopping-point for the westward and the eastward trade. The Mormons waxed rich and prosperous. Soon they discovered minerals in the regions about them, and built mills to work up the ores.

Utah Territory Organized.—With the advance in trade, manufacturing, and mining, the colony grew with great rapidity. The Mormons kept agents and missionaries in

Europe who promised good homes to men and women if they would come to the colony in America. President Young once sent out this proclamation:

> We want a company of woolen manufacturers to come with machinery and take our wool from the sheep and convert it into the best clothes. . . . We want a company of potters; we need them, the clay is ready and the dishes wanted. . . . We want some men to start a furnace forthwith; the coal, iron, and molders are waiting. . . . We have a printing-press, and any one who can take good printing and writing paper to the Valley will be a blessing to themselves and the church.

No wonder, with such attractions, thousands of industrious artisans, many of them belonging to other religious sects, came to the new colony of Deseret, as the Mormons called it. In 1850 the Utah country was so populous that it was organized into a regular territory of the United States.

IV. SUMMARY OF THE FAR WESTERN MOVEMENT

The immigrants into the Far West may be divided into six distinct types:

1. *The fur traders.* In the early days the fur business was well organized by great companies that sent out gangs of men to trap and to trade with the Indians and bring the peltries back to the eastern markets. For a long time the fur trade was the chief business of St. Louis, the point to which the routes from the Far West converged.

2. *The miners.* After the discovery of gold in California, miners and prospectors scoured all the Rocky Mountain regions for precious ores. The rush to California of course led to the establishment of many flourishing posts along the way, and from these centers explorers began to push out in every direction.

3. *The cattle rangers.* When the miners, prospectors, and fur traders brought back news of vast reaches of rich grass which could be had for nothing, cattlemen took out herds, and for a long time cowboys and cattlemen roamed at will over the great plains from Texas to Montana.

4. *The farmers.* After the cattlemen came the farmers, who fenced the land and became permanent residents. The farmer was usually a different type of man from the ranger or the miner. He did not expect to get rich in a hurry, but went out with full knowledge of the fact that only by hard labor and thrift could he win a competence. Unlike the miner or the ranger, he generally took his wife and children with him to share his life and labor.

5. *The women.* It was not until the West passed into a settled agricultural stage that women came in large numbers and that homes were founded. The trappers, the early miners, and the rangers were commonly roving and lawless. Wherever they went saloons and gambling houses flourished and shooting affrays were daily occurrences. When women came into the West, peaceful and law-abiding communities developed and civilized conduct took the place of the frontier rowdyism — so eloquently described in Mark Twain's "Roughing It." Women not only contributed the finer things of civilization; they did their share of the labor in the varied activities of farm life, in doors and out.

6. *Preachers and teachers* were early found along the western trails and frontiers. The former often had more missionary zeal than education, and the gospel of salvation which they preached stirred rather than edified their audiences. Their fiery sermons on everlasting punishment seem uncouth to us to-day, but no doubt they helped to temper the rough passions of the border sinners. Circuit riders, like Peter Cartwright in early Illinois, labored with

great heroism to bring men and women to sober and industrious ways of living. Where churches were founded, schools sprang up also and teachers were employed to kindle the lamp of learning.

Whoever journeys to-day over any of the great railway lines through these western states to the Pacific can scarcely appreciate the hardihood of the men and women who crossed the plains and deserts more than half a century ago in wagons drawn by mules and oxen. And yet there is nothing more wonderful in the annals of exploration and daring than the westward sweep of the Americans to the Pacific. There is no Plymouth Rock or Jamestown along the Salt Lake, Oregon, or Santa Fé Trail to make any single expedition as famous as those which laid the foundations of the English empire in America; but there are thousands of spots beyond the Mississippi, unrecorded in history, where were enacted deeds of bravery and self-sacrifice no less heroic than those connected with the beginnings of America on the "cold and barren coasts of New England," or in the lowlands of Virginia.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Chiefly from what sections of the East did the settlers of Iowa come? The settlers of Missouri? Why would farmers moving westward tend to settle in regions as similar as possible to the districts that they had left? 2. What causes led to the immigration from the South into Texas? Why did the Mexicans at first encourage and then discourage American immigration?

II. 1. State the important events that led to the war with Mexico. Why was this war unpopular in the North? 2. Make a list of the important results of the war. 3. Name the states that have been formed from the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico at the close of the war. Compare this territory as to area, surface, agricultural productions, and mineral resources with the territory acquired by the Louisiana purchase.

III. 1. How did the Oregon country come to be settled?

Give as many reasons as you can explaining the fact that Oregon was settled much earlier than the other Pacific and Mountain states. 2. Find on the map of North America the location of the parallel 54° 40′. What present British possessions would be part of the United States to-day if this country had made good its claim to the territory bounded on the north by this parallel? Why did the United States not press its claim to this territory? 3. What led Americans to California prior to the discovery of gold? Describe the effect of the discovery of gold in California. 4. Why were the Mormons persecuted in Illinois? 5. Locate Salt Lake City. Find from your geography what the character of the region about the Great Salt Lake is and what the Mormons had to do in order to make this region their permanent home.

IV. 1. Name the six groups or types of emigrants who successively went from the eastern states into the Far West. Tell what each group did to develop the country.

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. In your opinion was the United States justified in making war on Mexico? Make a list of the arguments on each side.

2. Make a study of the three great routes of exploration, trade, and travel to the Far West. Be ready to trace each route on the map, telling as many interesting facts as you can find about its discovery, its advantages and difficulties, and why it became important.

See Hitchcock's "The Louisiana Purchase," pp. 215–221; Semple's "American History and Its Geographic Conditions," pp. 186–199, 210–213, 217–219; Hart's "Source Book" (brief reference to the Oregon Trail), pp. 268–271.

3. Can it be said that the Texans were justified in their effort to secure their independence from Mexico?

See in *True Stories of Great Americans* Bryan's "Sam Houston," ch. v; also Sprague's "Davy Crockett," ch. xiv.

4. Imagine yourself a gold-miner in California in the days of the "'Forty-niners." Tell about the difficulties of reaching the gold fields, the work of the miners, and the life of the mining camps.

See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. i, ch. xiii; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 276–279.

CHAPTER XVI

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Great were the changes made in the life of the American people by the growth of a numerous farming population in the West and Southwest and the "overbalancing" of the seaboard by the new states of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. More significant was the revolution brought about by the introduction of steam and machinery into manufacturing and transportation.

If it had not been for the steam engine, machinery of all kinds, the railway, the steamboat, and the telegraph, the United States would be a nation of farmers even to-day. Without these inventions, the big cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and Cleveland would never have been built. Without them there would never have been the immense immigration of European peoples, and American enterprise would not have been carried into every market of the world where manufactured goods were bought and sold. Without them the grave questions of capital and labor, employment of men, women, and children in factories, regulation of railways and industries, government of cities, and kindred matters would never have come to occupy so much public attention.

It was the wonderful inventions, too, that freed the United States from dependence upon Europe for manufactured goods. In 1812, when the federal government was in dire need of blankets for the soldiers, it could not, to its chagrin, buy six thousand dollars' worth in all the country; it had to permit illegal trading with the enemy in order to secure English clothing for American soldiers. And yet, strange as it may seem, the very industries which made the country independent in matters of business, in time sent American traders, merchants, and capitalists to seek markets in every corner of the earth, thus drawing the United States into rivalry with the great nations of Europe. Steam and machinery did more to destroy the world that Washington and Jefferson knew than did the opening of the western lands to the pioneers.

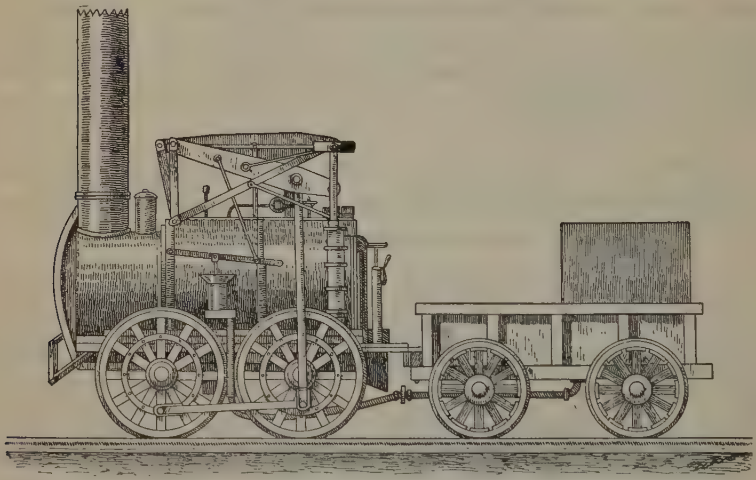
I. The Development of Machinery for the Cotton and Woolen Industries

England's Early Leadership in Industry. — While frontiersmen were breaking the way through the forests to the Mississippi, enterprising business men and ingenious inventors were busy in shops, smithies, foundries, and tool houses. They were making contrivances to spin and weave, to work iron and steel, to use steam for driving machinery and for moving cars along railways.

In this enterprise the Americans naturally turned to England, for England was taking the lead in all such matters. Before the end of the eighteenth century, James Watt had successfully used the steam engine in running mills; Crompton, Arkwright, and others had developed spinning by machinery instead of by hand; and Cartwright had invented a loom for weaving cloth, which could be driven by steam or water power. Other English inventors had learned how to use coal instead of wood and charcoal in smelting iron ore and making steel.

These marvelous inventions were making England rich and giving her leadership over all nations in the manufacture of cloth, iron, steel, and nearly all important commodities. England wanted to keep other countries from using these patents and becoming rivals, so the English government forbade any one to carry the new machines or models or plans for them out of the country.

English Mechanics Attracted to America. *Samuel Slater.* -- With all their efforts, the English were not able to keep their secrets. Shrewd Yankees in New England set about making machines of their own with such help as they could get from English artisans who came over to the United States. Societies of "Artists and Manufacturers" were formed in the leading cities of the North, and advertised in England for skilled workmen to erect machinery, offering them large rewards for success.



THE *Stourbridge Lion*, A LOCOMOTIVE BROUGHT FROM ENGLAND IN 1829

In response to one of these advertisements by the Philadelphia Society, Samuel Slater, a workman who had been employed in Arkwright's spinning mill, came to the United States in 1789. He entered into a contract with Moses

Brown of Providence, Rhode Island, and built a complete spinning mill on the falls of the Pawtucket River. In a little while Slater had drawn plans of the machines and taught American artisans how to make and operate them. In 1810 steam was used at Ballston, New York, to drive spinning machines. It was not long before American machine-made cotton yarn and cloth, especially the coarser qualities, were acknowledged to be as good as those of England.

Growth of the Cotton Spinning Industry. — In spite of the best efforts of the mechanics their progress was at first very slow, because they had to do almost everything by hand and meet English competition besides. In 1804, more than ten years after Slater came over, there were only four cotton factories running.

Just about that time war between England and Napoleon was renewed with greater fury than ever, and the destruction of shipping on the high seas reduced the supply of English goods (see page 230). This gave the opportunity so much desired by American manufacturers. A "boom" in cotton spinning began. In 1807 there were fifteen cotton mills, and four years later there were eighty-seven.

The Cotton Gin Invented by Eli Whitney. — While clever artisans were building machinery for spinning, an observant Yankee from Connecticut, Eli Whitney, invented a cotton gin, a machine for separating the seed from the cotton. Any one who has ever seen raw cotton as it is picked from the stem in the field knows that it is filled with small seeds to which the cotton fibers cling as tightly as wax. Formerly it took a skillful colored woman a whole day to clean a pound or two of cotton by hand.

Young Whitney, during a stay in the South, saw how tedious and laborious this process of cleaning the cotton was. He went to work to invent a machine that would strip the cotton from the seeds, and he was able to announce his success in 1792, just a little while after Samuel Slater commenced to build spinning machinery in Rhode Island. In a short time Whitney's gin was so perfected that, when driven by power, a single machine could clean a thousand pounds in a day. The whole cotton industry could now swing forward at high speed, for it was freed from dependence upon hand labor. The demand for cotton now became so strong that planters could not get enough new lands and slaves to supply it.

A Cotton Gin, a Simple Machine for Separating the Seeds from the Cotton, Invented by Eli Whitney

The Cotton Weaving Industry. — The yarn made in the spinning mills was, at first, woven into cloth by hand; the power loom, indeed, was not extensively used even in England until after the first decade of the nineteenth century. The yarn was taken from the mills and distributed among hand weavers in town and country, who worked it up into cloth which was collected by merchants and carried to the markets for sale.

Washington on a Visit to One of the First Cotton Mills

It seems that it was not until 1814 that the first practical power loom was established in America — at Waltham, Massachusetts, by Francis Lowell. In his factory the cotton from the bales was turned into finished cloth by carding, spinning, weaving, and printing machines driven by power. The work was so simplified that the machines became almost automatic, and women and little children "of a tender age" could be profitably employed to "mind" them, men being needed only for the heavier tasks and the making of repairs.

Rise of the Woolen Industry. — The woolen industry soon began to flourish along with the cotton trade. A broad-cloth factory, including a carding machine for cleaning and straightening the wool fibers, a spinning jenny, and a hand loom, had been established by Schofield Brothers at Newburyport, in 1794, and later transferred to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where there was abundant water power. Somewhat later a power loom for weaving woolen cloth was set up at South Kingston, Rhode Island, by Rowland Hazard. By 1828 a complete woolen factory, equipped with power machines throughout, was in operation there. Step by step the work was taken from the homes.

A Hand Loom such as was Used in Colonial Days

There are grandmothers in the Middle West who can tell how in the old days they had to card, spin, and weave at home; how the carding mills sprang up along the little rivers where there were waterfalls; how the wool was carried on horseback or in wagons sometimes twenty or thirty miles to be carded; how, after a while, a spinning machine or two would be set up beside the carding machine, and how finally with the coming of the railway, which made it easy and cheap to bring cloth from New England, these little mills were closed and fell into decay. The old "overshot" water wheels became moss-grown, the roofs of the mills fell in, and the children played about the ruins, all heedless of the great change in American life which the venerable wrecks recorded.

The Sewing Machine. *Howe and Singer.* — When the spinning and weaving machines had taken the cloth making out of the homes, sewing by hand was still left behind. Clothes had to be made with thread, needle, and thimble — "the everlasting stitching." Then came a revolution in sewing. In 1846 Elias Howe, a poor man who had labored for years in a garret, on the verge of starvation and amid the greatest trials, at last brought out a sewing machine. A little later I. M. Singer introduced the sale of this wonderful contrivance on the installment plan, so that it could go into the homes of the poorest people.

By 1860 there were over forty thousand sewing machines in the United States. It was not long before the sewing machine was introduced into factories and operated by power. "Ready-made" clothing of all kinds was then put on the market at astonishingly low prices — one fourth those charged by hand-sewing tailors. Between 1850 and 1860 the output of the clothing factories increased in value from $48,000,000 to $80,000,000 annually. "Everlasting stitching" went on in a new way.

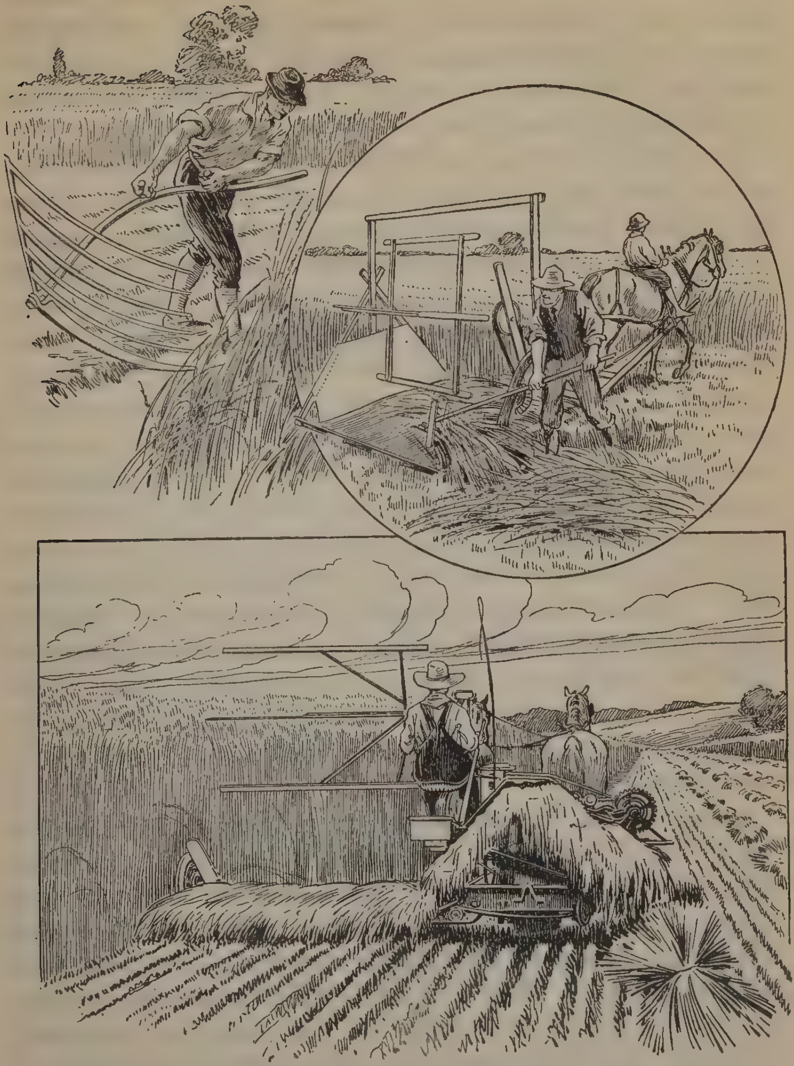
II. The Iron Industry; Farm Machinery

The Iron Industry. — The use of power-driven machinery could not go very far without large supplies of iron and steel. Before the American Revolution there had been little iron mines and forges in nearly every state, and charcoal had been used to melt the ore down for drawing off the metal. After independence had been established, American smiths brought large quantities of soft coal from England for smelting purposes; but when the War of 1812 cut off the supply, ironmasters of eastern Pennsylvania were forced to use native coal.

The use of the air blast, invented in the eighteenth century, enabled them to make hot fires even with hard coal. As the supplies of coal in Pennsylvania were unlimited, the iron industries began to flourish there so rapidly that they drove out of business in time most of the little forges in the other states.

Western Pennsylvania Becomes the Center of the Iron Industry. — The great development of the iron industry in Pennsylvania came after the discovery of iron ore in the valley of the Youghiogheny, where a smelting furnace was erected as early as 1790. Fifteen years later there were five furnaces and six forges in Fayette County. Rolling mills and steel furnaces quickly followed. Soon the valleys of the Allegheny and the Monongahela were dotted with mines and furnaces, and Pittsburgh, which had had only about four hundred inhabitants when the Constitution was adopted in 1788, became a great city. Ore and pig iron were floated down in barges to Pittsburgh, where rolling mills, steel furnaces, and iron works turned out nails, hinges, locks, plows, axes, spades, knives, skillets, sugar kettles, and a hundred other implements and utensils used by the settlers of the West. Pennsylvania's ironmasters boasted that they could soon supply all the needs of the United States, if English iron and steel were kept out by a high tariff (see page 248).

Improvements in Farm Machinery. — With all the inventions for spinning, weaving, and ironworking, it was natural that some geniuses should try to improve the tools used by farmers. At the time of the American Revolution the farmers' implements did not show much improvement over those which had been used in the days of the Romans. The plowshare and mold board were made of wood and were easily worn out or broken. Grain was cut with a hand sickle or a scythe and cradle, and threshed with a hand flail or tramped out by cattle. Toward the close of the eighteenth century an English machine for threshing had been introduced in a few places, and an iron plowshare



Improvement in the Machinery for Cutting Grain: the Cradle, McCormick's First Reaper, and the Self-Binder was sometimes used. A plow with a mold board all cast in one piece of iron was patented in 1797, and within twenty-five years the wooden plow had almost disappeared, though occasionally a wooden mold board was found attached to an iron share.

The Reaper. Cyrus McCormick. — In 1833 Obed Hussey, of Baltimore, invented a reaper, and in 1834 Cyrus McCormick made one in a blacksmith's shop in the Shenandoah Valley. In 1846 McCormick established a manufactory at Cincinnati; three years later he built a plant in Chicago, the center of the grain-growing region. From year to year he improved his machine, until finally it reached such a pitch of perfection that one man with a team of horses could cut as much grain in a day as five or six men with scythes and cradles. At first the machine merely cut the grain off and let it fall behind as it was cut; then a carrying-board was attached and a child rode along to rake the wheat off at intervals for binding into bundles. The "self-rake" which automatically delivered the grain in piles was next developed; about 1880 came the self-binder, which cut the wheat and bound it into bundles; and at last there was invented a giant machine, drawn by many horses or by an engine, which cut and threshed the wheat in one operation.

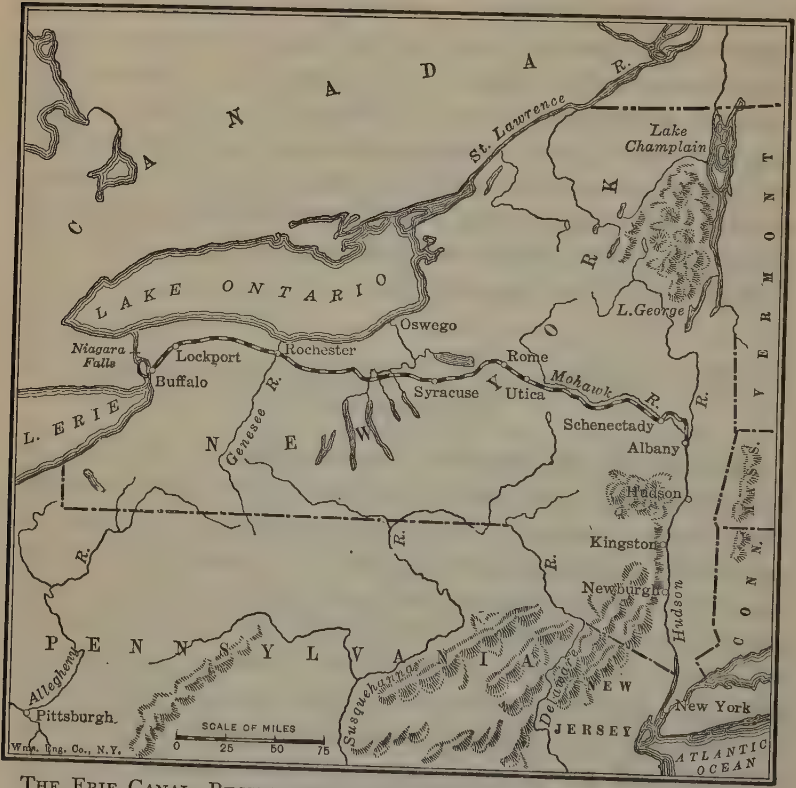
Industries in the West. — For a long time, the development of industries was confined largely to the East. According to an expert in the figures of business, the annual value of American manufactures in the mills and in the homes of the people was nearly two hundred million dollars in 1810, and four fifths of the goods were produced in five states: Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts. But it was not long before factories began to spring up beyond the mountains, especially wherever there was water power.

In 1821 Beaver Creek, Kentucky, boasted of saw and grist mills, a carding mill, and an iron furnace and forge; Maysville had a rope factory and glass works; there was a cotton mill at Paris. At Cincinnati, about the same time, a traveler found a foundry and nail mill, woolen and cotton factories, a tannery, glass works, and a shipyard where river steamers were built. To Cincinnati the farmers for a hundred miles around hauled their wheat or drove their hogs and cattle, and exchanged them for goods made there or brought over the mountains to that market. As a visitor in 1840 picturesquely put it: "There I heard the crack of the cattle driver's whip and the hum of the factory: the West and the East meeting."

III. Improvements in Transportation; Canal Development

The Necessity for Improved Transportation. — All great industries depend for their existence on the sale of goods over a large territory. No single community can consume the output of a huge factory, and in the extension of their business it was necessary for men to travel widely with samples of their wares. This called for rapid means of transportation and communication, linking together all sections. American enterprise quickly set to work on this problem, and in a little while wonderful results were accomplished. All over the country private companies were organized to build turnpikes and canals. State governments gave their aid to the undertakings. The federal government came to the help of the people and built the national road connecting Cumberland, near the head-waters of the Potomac, with the Mississippi Valley (see page 220).

The Erie Canal (1825). *De Witt Clinton.* — The opening of the Cumberland route into the West excited the merchants of Philadelphia and New York, who wanted direct connections of their own. In New York state enterprising leaders induced the government to begin a canal connecting the Hudson River with Lake Erie. Under the enthusiastic direction of Governor Clinton it was commenced in 1817, fourteen years after the admission of Ohio to the Union, and one year after the admission of Indiana. For its day it was a marvelous piece of engineering work, greatly exceeding in difficulty the construction of the



The Erie Canal, Begun under the Direction of Governor De Witt Clinton in 1817 and Completed in 1825

Panama Canal in our time. It was 363 miles long, and although a large portion of the way was level, there were numerous hills to be cut through and many rivers, swamps, and valleys to be crossed. Wiseacres said it never could be done, and they called it "Clinton's Big Ditch" and "Clinton's Folly."

The work was finished in 1825. In the autumn of that year the news that the waters of Lake Erie were let into the Canal was carried to New York City by the firing of cannon all along the line at a distance of five miles apart. On November 4, Governor Clinton and a party of his friends went from Buffalo to New York City on a fleet of canal boats. They carried kegs of water from Lake Erie, which they poured into the Atlantic as a sign that the ocean and the Great Lakes were forever united. The ringing of bells and firing of cannon in New York City accompanied the grand ceremony in the Hudson River.

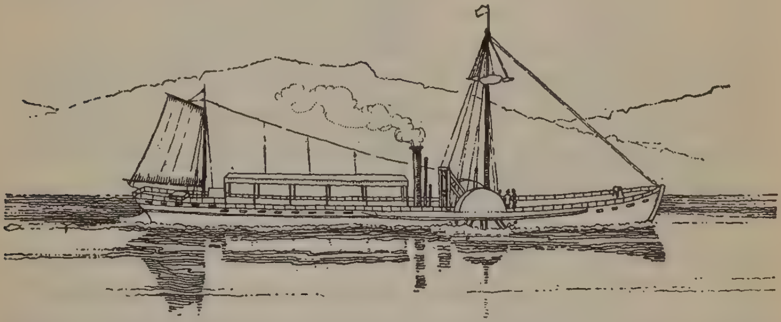
Influence of Canal Traffic on Freight Rates. Other Canals. — The effect of the canal was startling. Freight which cost $32 a ton per hundred miles by wagon road was reduced to $1 a ton by canal route. Barges of wheat, corn, bacon, and other farm produce from the lands around the Great Lakes began to float down the canal. Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse soon became thriving trading centers. Passenger boats fitted up "luxuriously" made regular trips from Albany westward according to schedule. Although the traveling was slow, it was safe and sure, and quite rapid as compared with the wagon journeys over bad roads. In time a chain of canals connected Cleveland on Lake Erie with Columbus and Cincinnati and the Ohio River to the southward, thus opening a line of water communication from the heart of the Ohio region to New York City.

Canals and Portage Railway in Pennsylvania. — Philadelphia merchants, frightened at the thought of losing their western trade to New York merchants, induced their state to construct a system of canals and portages connecting the coast with the Ohio Valley. The rivers were used as far as possible, and canals connecting the rivers were built to afford continuous water passage. Wherever canals could not be built, rails were laid and the boats and cargoes hauled overland on wheeled cars to the nearest navigable stream. This was an expensive line to build and operate, but it made possible direct connection with Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and the other trading points on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It enabled the Philadelphia merchants to extend their trade in the West and Southwest. The boats which carried cargoes of merchandise to the West returned filled with farm products or with coal and iron from the Pittsburgh region.

IV. The Steamboat and the Railroad

The Steamboat. *Robert Fulton (1807).* — While the states were feverishly planning and building canals, a new means of transportation by water was being invented and perfected, namely, the steamboat. In the latter part of the eighteenth century several inventors had worked on the problem of using the steam engine to drive boats on rivers and at sea. At length Robert Fulton, in 1807, launched his famous steamboat, the *Clermont*, which made the trip from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, in thirty-two hours, and the return journey in thirty hours, with the wind ahead both ways. In 1811 a steamboat was plying the Ohio, and the next year steamboats began regular runs from Pittsburgh to New Orleans and back.

Faster Transportation Needed. — The steamboat proved an aid rather than a competitor to the canals, for it gave better facilities for carrying freight and passengers to and from the points connected by them. At best the canals offered slow means of transportation, and often they were closed in winter time by ice. A quicker means than the steamboat of carrying goods and passengers was demanded. Scores of inventors in England and the United States were racking their brains for some plan to use the steam engine in hauling wagons and cars.



FULTON'S *Clermont*, THE FIRST BOAT DRIVEN SUCCESSFULLY BY STEAM POWER

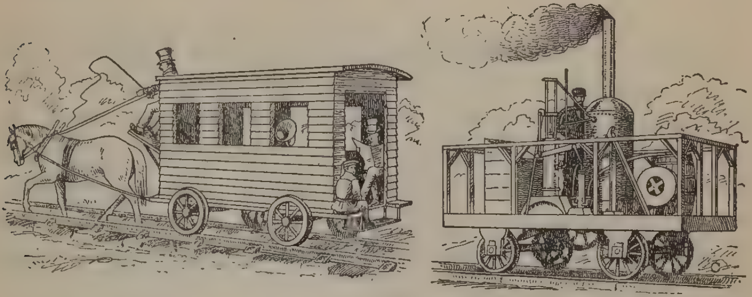
Stephenson's Locomotive. — It had long been a practice to lay down stone or wooden tracks for the wheels of wagons drawn by horses. There were many of these short "railroads" both in England and in the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century. In 1814 George Stephenson, an English miner, succeeded in making a steam locomotive, "Puffing Billy," which was used in hauling cars over such a road at the mines where he worked. Ten years later, the Stockton and Darlington railroad in the north of England was opened.

The Railroad in America. *John Stevens.* — American inventors were alive to what was going on in England, and they had plenty of ideas of their own as well. John Stevens, of Hoboken, New Jersey, has been called "the father of the American railroad," because he early began to experiment with "steam carriages." In 1811, he applied to the legislature of that state for permission to build a railway line. He was regarded as a dreamer, and the charter was not granted. He then applied in New York for permission to build a railroad to Buffalo, to be used instead of the canal. Again he failed. Then he turned back to New Jersey, and finally, in 1815, he secured the first railway charter granted in the United States, authorizing him to build a line connecting the Delaware and Raritan rivers.

Stevens was unable, however, to induce people with money to invest in his scheme. Wiseacres laughed at the idea of traveling at the rate of ten or twenty miles an hour. They said it was impossible for a steam engine and a train of cars to round a curve. Stevens proved them wrong by building a circular track in Hoboken and driving an engine with cars around it. Opponents of railroads said that it would be impossible to get over the mountains. Friends of railroads replied that they would make tunnels — "passages like a well, dug horizontally through the hills or mountains."

In spite of discouragements, men here and there in the country began to build short lines. The Mohawk and Hudson was chartered by New York in 1826, and in the same year the Granite Railway from Quincy to Tidewater was chartered by Massachusetts. The first line over which a steam locomotive was driven was the Carbondale road, built in 1828 near Honesdale, Pennsylvania, to connect the town with coal mines sixteen miles away.

Early Railway Lines. — In 1828, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company began to build the first really great railway system in the United States. The work was opened with much ceremony, and Charles Carroll, then ninety-three years old, the last of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, turned the first sod, saying that he considered that day's deed second only in importance to his famous service on July 4, 1776. After some experiments with horse cars, the Baltimore and Ohio adopted steam. In 1831 Peter Cooper's engine, "Tom Thumb," made the journey between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills at the speed of thirteen miles an hour.



From photographs of models

A Horse Car Used on the Baltimore and Ohio; also Peter Cooper's Engine, "Tom Thumb," Later Used on the Same Railroad

In other parts of the country railway companies were busy. In South Carolina, "The Best Friend," an engine built by the West Point Foundry Company, made a trip from Charleston to Hamburg in 1830, at a speed of from sixteen to twenty-one miles an hour, drawing five loaded cars. In 1832 the trial trip over the line from Albany to Schenectady, a distance of seventeen miles, was made in one hour by Governor Clinton, of canal fame, and a party of legislators. When they reached their journey's end they dined in state, and among the toasts drunk on that occasion was this seemingly wild prophecy: "The Buffalo Railroad — may we soon breakfast in Utica, dine in Rochester, and sup with our friends on Lake Erie!"

The Rapid Railroad Development. — As soon as the railway was found to be a success, a perfect frenzy of railway building seized the people everywhere. Within thirty years the Atlantic coast was connected with the West by what are now the Boston and Albany, the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio lines. Within less time than that, the distance from Portland, Maine, to Wilmington, North Carolina — a thousand miles — was covered by a chain of short connecting lines.

Soon the fever reached the West. In 1838 a line between Detroit and Ann Arbor (now the Michigan Central) was constructed. Four years later it was possible to travel by rail from Boston to Buffalo, and by 1852 a railway journey from the East to Chicago was advertised. In 1857 Chicago and St. Louis were connected by what is now the Alton railroad; that same year the Baltimore and Ohio trains began running into St. Louis.

In the South the growth of railways was slower, but by 1850 Fredericksburg, Virginia, was connected with Wilmington, North Carolina, and Norfolk with Raleigh. A line from Charleston penetrated eastern Tennessee, and united Knoxville with the coast. A railway connected Savannah with the heart of Georgia, and trains were running from Montgomery, Alabama, to Pensacola on the sea.

In 1850 Congress made huge grants of land to Illinois, to aid a company in building a line (now the Illinois Central) from Chicago to Cairo, and similar grants were made to Alabama and Mississippi for railways. By 1860 the Illinois Central, the Mississippi Central, and connecting lines were open. Thus the Gulf of Mexico was linked with Chicago.

The Development of the Express Business. — Along with the growth of railways came the establishment of express companies. In 1839 W. F. Harnsden, of Massachusetts, began to make trips between Boston and New York three times a week transporting valuable packages under guard. It was not long before he had so much to carry that it became necessary to use special cars for the purpose. Soon express offices were opened in New York and Philadelphia, and in 1842 express service was established on the Hudson River.

In 1845 a western express to Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis was opened by Wells and Fargo. In the same year the Adams Express Company was organized. Seven years later the American Express Company bought out the eastern lines of Wells and Fargo, who then opened express routes over the plains and deserts, and by way of Panama, to the Pacific. A pound package was soon carried from New York to the Pacific coast for forty cents.

The express companies did not confine their operations to railway lines. They built stage and wagon routes, and established the pony express to carry mail and packages into the wilds of the mountains and to the very borders of civilization.

V. The Electric Telegraph; Ocean Navigation

The Electric Telegraph (1844). *S. F. B. Morse.* — The people were hardly accustomed to the steam railway before a still more mysterious contrivance, "the magnetic telegraph," was invented. Experiments in transmitting signs by electricity along wires had been made by many men, but it was an American genius, Samuel F. B. Morse, aided by Alfred Vail, who made a practical success in sending messages.

After he found, in 1838, that he could communicate over three miles of wire, Morse applied to the government of the United States for aid, because he was a poor man and had endured extreme poverty while working at his invention. He was finally successful, Congress in 1843 voting $30,000 for a line between Washington and Baltimore, which was completed the next year. The success of the experiment led to the organization of many companies to connect all the important cities of the country. In a little while a business man could transact business in Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans on the same day.

The Atlantic Cable. *Cyrus W. Field.*—A still more wonderful experiment — a trans-Atlantic cable — was begun in 1857. The idea of a cable was suggested as early as 1850 by John A. Roebling, of Trenton, New Jersey, and also by Matthew Maury, a distinguished scientist of Virginia, whose studies of ocean currents and beds gave him the name of "The Pathfinder of the Seas." Cyrus W. Field, aided by the federal government and by business men in this country and England, began to lay a cable along the floor of the Atlantic Ocean to unite the New World with the Old. Twice the cable broke, after it had been laid far out at sea. Each time Field renewed his task, and in 1858 communication was opened. A little while after the President of the United States and Queen Victoria had exchanged greetings, the cable broke again; so Field, amid trying discouragements, had all his work to do over. He never faltered, and in 1866 he established permanent cable communications.

Ocean Navigation. *Early American Shipbuilding.* — In spite of the wonderful development of steam navigation, the United States came to depend mainly on European ships to carry freight and passengers across the Atlantic. This was not because American shipbuilders and sailors were less keen than those of the Old World. On the contrary, they equaled in skill the best in the world, and they had oak and hard pine in abundance to build fast clippers and great merchantmen.

For a long time after the War of 1812 they proved their ability. American vessels carried the flag into all harbors of the world, and American masters and sailors showed that they were second to none in their energy, self-reliance, and initiative. Moreover, it was an American-built ship, the *Savannah*, that first crossed the ocean partly under steam power in 1819. But the importance of this event was not realized in America and public opinion was not awakened to the need of government aid.

Ocean Transportation Subsidized. — The English government, on the other hand, knew the value of a merchant marine. In 1839 it gave a large cash bonus or subsidy to the Cunard Steamship Company, which began operating vessels across the Atlantic — a concern that soon grew to immense proportions. The next year the English government voted money to lines operating to the ports of India and China and to the ports along the west coast of South America.

A burst of shipping enterprise on the part of the British was followed in 1845 by action on the part of the United States government. In that year it, too, voted money: to the Ocean Steamship Line, running from New York to Bremen, and to the Collins Line, operating from New York to Liverpool. Three years later, the Pacific Mail Line around the Horn to California was granted a subsidy. For a time American companies, thus aided by the government, held their own, and men dreamed of the day when American shipping would cover the sea.

The Decline of American Deep-sea Commerce. — Then dissatisfaction with granting public money to ship companies grew up. Southern planters thought that they could ship cotton and other produce cheaper in English ships. In 1856 Congress lowered the grants of money to the Collins Line, and in 1858 abandoned subsidies altogether. In a little time the American ships were sold to English companies, and most of the ocean-carrying trade passed into their hands.

American skill and energy went into the development of manufacturing and mining and the construction of railways. By 1850 the output of industries began to rival in value the output of farms and plantations. The United States was clearly destined to be a great industrial nation, not merely a nation of planters and small farmers, as Jefferson had hoped.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Why are the changes that were brought about by the steam engine and the introduction of steam-driven machinery called the "Industrial Revolution"? 2. In what way was the United States still dependent upon England after the War for Independence? 3. Who was Samuel Slater? Why is his name remembered? 4. In what part of the country did the cotton and woolen industries first develop? What reasons are there for their early development in this region? 5. Who invented the cotton gin? Why was the invention so important? 6. What names are connected with the invention of the sewing machine?

II. 1. Why did Pennsylvania become the center of the iron industry? What are the advantages of Pittsburgh as a center of iron and steel manufacturing? Find from your geographies the names of the principal iron and steel manufacturing cities in the Pittsburgh district. 2. What did Cyrus McCormick do to make his name remembered?

III. 1. Why did the industrial revolution increase the demand for improved methods of travel and transportation? 2. What led the people of New York to approve of Clinton's plan for the Erie Canal? What other means of getting goods from the Atlantic coast to the Middle West were there at this time? What are the advantages and disadvantages of shipping goods by canal?

IV. 1. When and by whom was the first successful steamboat built? Can you think of any reasons why the steamboat should have been developed earlier than the railroad? 2. What names are connected with the early railroads of England? Of the United States? 3. Compare the speed of the early American locomotives with that of present-day locomotives.

V. 1. What names and dates are connected with the invention of the electric telegraph and the development of the ocean cables? 2. At about what time did steam become important in ocean transportation? Can you think of any reasons why ocean steamships were developed much later than river steamboats?

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Tell the story of the invention and early development of the steam engine.

See Mowry's "American Inventions and Inventors," ch. vii; Warren's "Stories from English History," pp. 399–400.

2. Select one of the following men for special study and report. Be ready to give a brief account of his life and of the work for which he is remembered: Samuel Slater, Eli Whitney, Elias Howe, Robert Fulton, Cyrus McCormick, De Witt Clinton, S. F. B. Morse.

Something regarding each of these men and their work will be found in the following books; refer to the index or table of contents in each case: Mowry's "American Inventions and Inventors," Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II. Also see, for Fulton, Sutcliffe's "Robert Fulton," or Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. i, ch. v, and for Morse, Bolton's "Famous Men of Science," pp. 202–245.

3. Imagine yourself a passenger on an Erie Canal "packet" about 1830. Tell the story of your trip.

See Hart's "How Our Grandfathers Lived," pp. 102–104.

CHAPTER XVII

GREAT CHANGES IN AMERICAN LIFE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The marvelous inventions which we have just described radically altered the daily life of the people of the United States, — their ways of thinking, working, traveling, buying, selling, and making a livelihood. The new machines did more than anything else to revolutionize the country; more than all the political events — elections and contests of political parties — combined.

Cheap land had created in the United States the largest independent farming class any country in the world had ever seen. This accounted, in the main, for the freedom and democracy so proudly proclaimed by American statesmen. The great inventions created here, as in Europe, millions of industrial workers and city dwellers and so brought to this country the same problems. One can truly say that the steam engine makes the whole world kin.

I. Changes in Working Conditions

The Division of Labor. — When manufacturing was done by hand, each worker performed many different operations. Take for example the old textile industry. The same worker could usually card, spin, weave, and dye; that is, could produce a complete piece of cloth from raw materials. With the coming of machinery, each worker had to specialize on one minute operation, such as watching the carding machine or the spinning jenny or the loom. The artisan skilled in an entire trade was then supplanted by the specialist, who was very swift in his craft but helpless when put at some other machine.

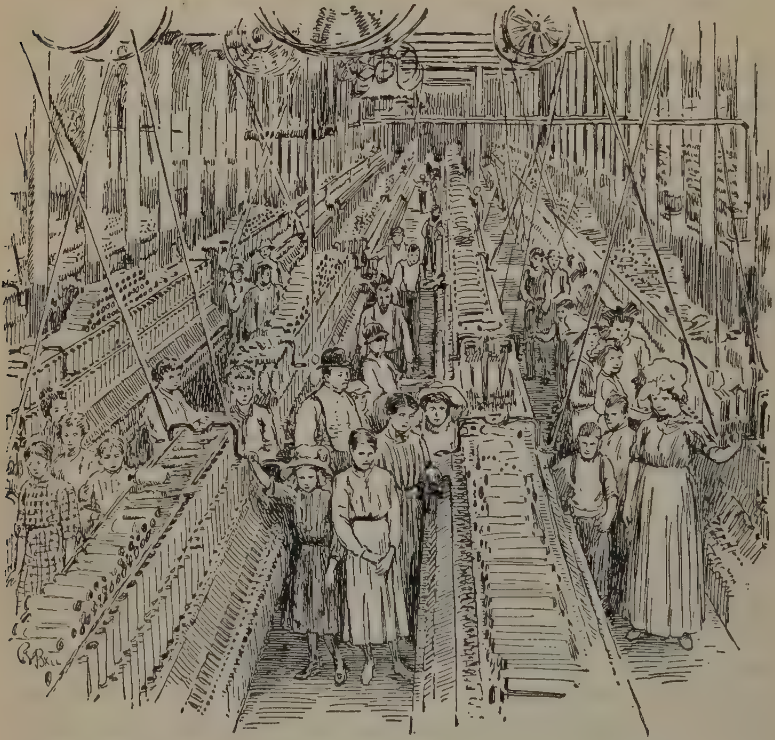
Another result of the division of labor was the linking of many communities. In early times each farm or town produced nearly all that it consumed. After the industrial revolution towns, like individuals, began to specialize — some producing hardware, others cloth, others boots and shoes. Each special manufacturing town was then forced to depend on others for the commodities which it did not produce. This stimulated rapid transportation and communication, and made great cities possible. It also made the town helpless in time of depression, when the industries upon which its prosperity depended were shut down.

By courtesy of Manhattan Trade School

PUTTING THE THUMB IN A GLOVE, ONE OF THE MANY STEPS IN THE PROCESS OF MAKING A GLOVE

The Separation of the Workers from Their Tools. — In the old days, when work was done by hand and only a few simple and inexpensive tools were used, each workman who had any initiative could go into business for himself after he had served his apprenticeship; that is, when he had learned his trade. Each man therefore could become his own master. He could own and control the tools by which he earned his livelihood, for it did not require much capital for him to set up a loom house, shoeshop, or smithy, or to go into business on his own account, particularly with the aid of his wife and children.

After the introduction of expensive machinery, however, and the use of the steam engine to drive hundreds and even thousands of machines at the same time, it became impossible for every workman to become a factory owner. The steam engine, according to an old saying, was a great monster which ate up the tools of the handworker and made him a servant to the machine. In this way, most of the workers in mechanical industry were divided into the relatively few owners of the machines, that is, capitalists; and the great mass of operatives who worked at the machines.



From a photograph

The Spinning Room in a Modern Cotton Mill

When the working people owned their tools, there could be no quarrel over the division of the income received; but when one man owned the machines and others operated them, a natural difference of opinion arose as to how the money received for the total product should be divided. Thus arose the conflict between capital and labor — the wage question.

Women in Factories. *The Labor Supply.* — The effect of the new inventions on the life and labor of women was even greater than on the life and labor of men. Women had long been accustomed to hard work; in the colonial times they had done much of the manufacturing — practically all of the textile making: spinning, weaving, knitting, lace making, and sewing. With the coming of machinery, factory owners looked to them as an important source of labor supply, particularly in the textile regions of New England. To allay the fears of the farmers, who did not want to lose their "hired men," it was widely advertised that a large share of the new manufacturing would be done by American women. Without their help the textile industries of New England could not have flourished, for it was not until after 1850 that European immigration began to be the chief source of the labor supply.

New Spheres for Women. — When women stepped from the spinning wheel at home to the spinning jenny in the mill, they did not enter a new field of work; but as the variety of machine industries multiplied they were drawn into new branches. Manufacturers finding it profitable to employ women discovered reasons for widening "woman's sphere." Between 1820 and 1840 more than one hundred different industrial occupations were opened to women, including many new trades where skill rather than muscular strength was required. Take, for example, boot and shoe making. This was from earliest times a man's trade. When the inventors invaded the industry and even the heaviest nailing and sewing were done by machines, thousands of women were drawn into boot and shoe making.

When once the old view of their sphere was abandoned, women went into stores and offices as well as mills. In 1858 the *New York Times* urged more women to take up "clerking" because they were specially fitted for that work.

Industries and the Home. — While spinning, weaving, and dyeing were done by hand, women were generally at home even while working. The factory system took their work away from the fireside, and the women had to follow it into the great buildings where the machinery was operated. Thus women went out into the big world to labor with men, in the same factories, for the same hours, and under the same dangers to life and health.

Often the family was scattered about the city, the father working at one factory, the mother at another, and perhaps the children at a third. The result was a change in home life that completely upset the old idea of the family, according to which the work and life of the mother and children were restricted to the homestead. Sometimes women found themselves in sharp competition with men for jobs.

Child Labor. — Besides women, boys and girls were an important source of early labor supply. Tens of thousands of them were driven by poverty into the industries. They kept the mills going. Selfish parents, too, seeing a chance to add to the family income, put their little ones at work in the mills when it was not really necessary. Even the great statesman, Hamilton, thought it one of the excellent features of the factory system that "children of tender years" could be so employed. Mill owners, finding their labor cheap, approved the idea.

Children had long been accustomed to hard work on the farms and in the homes, and labor was nothing new to them. The thing that was new was labor in the factories, where they could not have the superintending care of their fathers and mothers. Their hours of labor and their health were no longer matters readily arranged by their parents. The wheels of the mills turned from early morning till late at night, and children who expected to hold their positions had to be in their places. So in the long annals of toil there must be a chapter for the children.

New Labor Supplies. — European Immigration. *The Irish.* — With the growth of factories and cities and the undertaking of canal and railway construction, the demand for workers increased, and, in response, an army of immigrants began to invade America. First in importance before 1860 were the Irish. The people of Ireland were unhappy under the rule of the English government. Although they were Catholic in faith, they were forced to pay taxes to support the Protestant Church. Vast sections of the country were owned by landlords who lived in England and drew princely revenues from distant estates tilled by half-starving peasants. The Irish were ruled by the parliament which sat at London, while they wanted home rule — a parliament of their own.

In 1846, the potato crop, on which from one third to one half of the population depended, was almost a total failure, and more than a third of the people were thrown upon charity, while thousands perished of starvation. Before the famine was over, two millions had died or left Ireland and tens of thousands had sought homes in America. In 1850 the census recorded nearly a million Irish people in the United States.

The German Tide of Immigration. — Next in order were the Germans. They, too, had suffered from oppressive government, and the same year that saw the failure of the potato crop in Ireland brought similar disasters on the continent, particularly in the Rhine Valley and southern Germany. In 1848 a revolution against the despotic government of kings and princes broke out in many places in Germany, and attempts were made to establish governments by the people. Most of these popular efforts came to naught, and the rulers imprisoned, shot, or banished revolutionary leaders.

Germans, in great numbers, found their way across the Atlantic, among them many men of distinction, like Carl Schurz. In 1847 over fifty thousand of them landed in New York, and the number increased almost steadily for several years. In 1850 the four states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa, had nearly a hundred thousand German inhabitants. Unlike the Irish, most of whom settled near the eastern coast, the Germans scattered westward. Although many of them stopped at Chicago and Milwaukee, perhaps a majority of the early immigrants found homes beside American pioneers as independent farmers.

The Foreign-born Population of 1860. — From many other countries across the sea, as well as Ireland and Germany, immigrants began to come. In 1860 there were over 4,000,000 foreign born in the United States, most of whom had migrated within the preceding ten years.

II. THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Wage System. — As the army of working people grew to huge proportions there arose many grievances. The hours of labor were long, usually from sunrise to sunset, thus leaving no time or strength for anything else. If an employer failed in business, the employees lost any wages due them, for they had no claim upon his property.

Wages were not always paid weekly, or even monthly, and frequently they were paid in paper money of uncertain value, or "store orders" which could only be cashed at the stores at a heavy discount. In many instances, working people were liable to fine and imprisonment if they combined and struck, or even formed a union, for the purpose of increasing their pay or shortening their hours.

The Low Wages of Unskilled Labor. — Wages were often very low. According to a learned historian, the ordinary laborer, such as a wood-cutter or hod-carrier, was fortunate to find employment for twelve hours a day at seventy-five cents. Large numbers were glad to work for thirty-seven and even twenty-five cents a day in winter; in fact, in very hard times, there were always hundreds ready to work for their board and lodging during the cold season. On the canals and turnpikes fifteen dollars a month with board and lodging was regular pay for summer, and in winter the amount of money paid was often cut down to five dollars a month.

The wages of women were still lower. Many of the trades were closed to them. Unskilled women found work at sewing rags, folding and stitching books, and making shirts. Mothers and widows generally engaged in shirt making, because they could take the goods home. This labor was poorly paid. Although the cost of living was lower than at present, the wages paid were, comparatively speaking, far below modern standards. Under such conditions, poverty and pitiful distress appeared everywhere in the great cities.

Labor Organizes for Self-protection. *Rise of Industrial Democracy.* — Working people and their sympathizers set to work in earnest to remedy some of these evils. About 1825 they began to form labor unions in spite of the law against it. The women weavers and cotton workers in New

England organized societies and demanded shorter hours and better pay. The machinists of Philadelphia began an agitation for a ten-hour day, and the New York ship carpenters followed their example. In Philadelphia a large number of workingmen decided, in 1828, to form a political party of their own and to vote only for candidates who promised to support the demands of "the working classes." Two years later the workingmen of Albany, New York, organized a party and carried four out of the five wards in the city. In all large towns, newspapers were founded to advocate the rights of workingmen.

The Federation of Labor Unions. — The first organizations of workingmen were local in character. When railways were built and travel became easy and cheap, they began to form national federations or unions of local unions. The printers federated in 1852, the hat finishers in 1854, the iron workers in 1858, and the machinists in 1859. The aim was to unite all the members of a given trade throughout the country. Strikes often followed organization.

Early Leaders of the Labor Movement. — Agitators and lecturers went up and down the country talking about the problems of the workers. Among these was an earnest woman, Frances Wright, who came to the United States from Scotland, and became one of the first advocates of "the rights of the working men and women" in this country. She lectured on labor questions, advocating shorter hours, higher wages, better homes for working people, and many other reforms. She was mobbed in some cities for her audacity in talking in public, and in others was refused the right to speak — so horrified were the people at the thought of a woman lecturer. Nevertheless her ideas took root and in many places "Fanny Wright Societies" were formed to advance the interests of the working people.

Another reformer, Robert Dale Owen, a famous Englishman who settled in Indiana, advocated the same ideas. He wrote a pamphlet on "national education" favoring a system of free common schools very much on the order of those now existing all over the country. He, too, was regarded generally as an undesirable person. Many of the workers did not appreciate his interest in them. A committee of New York printers declared that it was insolent for a foreigner to tell the people of the United States how to run their own affairs.

Competition between Native and Foreign Labor. — The coming of foreigners who had been accustomed to work for wages even lower than those prevailing in the United States was regarded with misgivings by native Americans. In New England, the daughters of farmers were driven out of the mills by men and women from the Old World. Everywhere the Irish took over the work of building roads, digging ditches, and draining swamps, and the common labor which had hitherto been performed by American workingmen.

When manhood suffrage was established and persons of foreign birth began to take part in politics, the natives were even more alarmed, especially as the newcomers were mostly Catholic in religion. So great did this alarm become that a "Native American" party was formed and in 1856 it nominated a candidate for President. Among other things it proposed the exclusion of foreign-born citizens from public offices. This party was popularly known as the "Know-Nothing" party, because its meetings were secret and its members, when questioned as to their aims, always replied that they did not know. It adopted the slogan, "Americans must rule America," and declared that no alien should be admitted to citizenship until he had resided in the United States continuously for twenty-one years.

III. The Growth of Cities; Foreign Trade; Conditions in the South

The Rapid Growth of the Cities. — All over New England, manufacturing towns like Lowell, Brockton, and Providence grew like magic. The older cities flourished, too. In 1840 the five first cities of the country in order of their importance were New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Boston. The first of these boasted over three hundred thousand inhabitants; the last ninety-three thousand.

To the westward new towns were springing up. Buffalo was the gateway through which flowed the westward migration — twelve hundred people a day, it was reported in 1835 — and also the western products on their way to the eastern markets. In 1850 Buffalo had a population of forty-two thousand.

On low, marshy land along Lake Michigan, the village of Chicago was growing into a lively trading center. In 1840 there were five thousand inhabitants dwelling in rough wooden houses built along streets in which weeds and prairie grass were still growing, and which were knee-deep in mud when it rained. Yet the signs of future greatness were already there. Hundreds of ships, — sailing vessels and steamers — carried farm produce outward, and eastern manufactures inward, giving employment to large numbers of sailors, merchants, warehousemen, and wagoners.

Detroit and Cleveland were becoming important trading centers, and to the northward Milwaukee had forged ahead so rapidly that her population was half that of Chicago in 1840. The older towns, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, continued to flourish as the steamboat trade on the river grew in size.

Backward State of City Government. — With the growth of the cities came all the troublesome problems of city government — street paving, repair and cleaning, lighting, fire protection, police, public health, transportation, housing, taxation, — to which so much attention had to be given. Even when New York was a city of 50,000, there was no regular street cleaning. For fire protection, each citizen was required to keep in his front hall a number of buckets, according to the number of his fireplaces. When a fire-alarm was rung he set them on his front door step to be carried off to the fire by the first passer-by. The next day he went to the city hall and got the buckets, which he could identify by his initials painted on them. There was no regular police force. Carters and other laborers who worked by day were employed as night watchers. Sometimes they actually went home and slept when they should have been patrolling the streets. In

From a photograph of the original, owned by the Chicago Historical Society

Chicago in 1834

1850 a regular police force was organized for Philadelphia; and three years later a uniformed force was established in New York.

Foreign Trade. — Industrial progress prevented the people of the United States from settling down to a self-satisfied life and becoming entirely indifferent to what was going on in the other parts of the world. Instead of waiting at home for European ships to bring manufactured goods to exchange for farm produce, Americans began to hunt abroad in Europe and Asia for markets in which to sell the output of their own industries. In this way they grew interested in other countries. Thus the United States ceased to be a "peculiar" nation, and became one of the powers of the world, searching like the rest of them for trade and commerce. It began official relations with China in 1844, and ten years later "gently coerced" Japan into a treaty which opened that country to western civilization.

The Ideal of Progress. — With the inventions came also the ideal of making constant progress instead of "sticking to the good old ways." When a clever inventor contrived a new machine which could make a commodity cheaper than the old one, the old one was "scrapped"; that is, abandoned and broken up. If one clever man found a new and more profitable method of doing business, he changed his ways and the others had to follow his example or fall behind in the race. When boys and girls found that they could make better wages in another city, they "pulled up stakes," and set out from the old home to find a new one. So the old-fashioned way of working with grandfather's tools and grandmother's utensils was cast aside.

Instead of settling down in the villages where they were born, people became accustomed to moving about. Villages and families were broken up. Moreover, when people from other parts of the world, Scotch, Irish, and Germans, came over in large numbers, there was a commingling of ideas. Petty prejudices against neighboring states or cities or peoples were modified by the constant intercourse with them.

The South Not Profoundly Affected by the Industrial Revolution. — The most striking feature — one full of meaning for the future — about this great industrial revolution, this growth of cities, this immense foreign immigration, was the restriction of industrial progress mainly to the North. In 1840 New York City had more inhabitants than all the important towns south of Washington: Richmond, Petersburg, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. The South had water power and immense natural mineral resources, but these were undeveloped. It could have rivaled Pennsylvania in iron production, and New England in cotton weaving and spinning; but as long as slavery prevailed, European immigrants would not go to the southern states and capital would not seek investments in southern industries.

Moreover, tens of thousands of people left Virginia and North Carolina and other southern states to settle in the lower counties of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. They found richer lands there, and were glad to escape from regions where the non-slave-owner was held in contempt by the aristocracy of masters and where he had little chance to rise out of poverty. Many well-to-do people, particularly the southern Quakers, migrated to the Middle West because they objected to slavery. While slavery lasted, the South was destined to be engaged chiefly in agriculture and to remain small in population as compared with the North. It was owing to this difference in industrial and agricultural interests that such serious friction sprang up between the two sections, and led finally to the Civil War.

Looking Forward. — In a preceding chapter we tried to draw a picture of the romance of westward migration, — a restless movement of fur hunters, miners, cattle rangers, plainsmen, pioneers, and farmers, — that conquered and occupied the great West. Now we must try to picture to ourselves the work of the new classes created by the industrial revolution — business men, inventors, captains of industry, railway magnates, real estate speculators, and capitalists — hurrying to improve every kind of machine, establishing banks and raising money for industrial and railway enterprises, building up factories, constructing railway lines through forests and over mountains. Under their daring leadership great cities were built, the backward and waste places of the country made accessible, forests cut down, mines and oil wells opened, — indeed, the very face of the earth transformed. Under their direction were massed huge armies of wage workers, who slowly organized a labor movement and commenced to demand a voice in the control of industry and society.

Adding the business men and the industrial workers to the free farmers and the planters, we have the four important groups that were to influence the current of American political history for many generations. All these groups were continually striving to advance their respective interests. The work of government thus became largely the task of adjusting the conflicts among them, and preventing any one group from going too far. At the same time there was the task of welding them all into a nation, with high ideals of liberty and humanity, striving to secure and maintain a place among the powers of the earth.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. What is meant by the "division of labor"? Illustrate by comparing the older method of making such things as cloth and shoes with the modern factory methods. 2. What was the effect of the division of labor upon the worker? How did the division of labor influence the growth of towns and cities? 3. How did the division of labor and the introduction of factory methods "separate the workman from his tools"? How did it give rise to the division between "capital" and "labor"? 4. Why was it possible under the new factory conditions for so much of the work in the factories to be done by women and children? What differences did this bring about in home life? 5. How did the industrial revolution and the development of the factory system lead to a large immigration of European workmen? 6. Why did so many of these come from Ireland? 7. What were the causes of the immigration from Germany? 8. Chiefly in what parts of the country did each of these groups of immigrants settle?

II. 1. What were some of the hardships of the wage-earners before 1860? 2. At what time did the wage-earners begin to organize for self-protection? 3. Who were some of the leaders of the labor movement at this time? 4. What is meant by a "federation" of wage-earners?

III. 1. What effect did the industrial revolution have upon the growth of cities? 2. Name some of the new problems that the rapid growth of cities brought about. 3. How did the development of the factories influence commerce with other countries? 4. Why were the southern states so little affected by the industrial revolution?

Problems for Further Study

1. Imagine yourself a member of a large family engaged in home-manufacturing before the days of the factory system. Imagine yourself a member of a similar family working in a factory. What would be the difference in the interest that you would take in your work? In the pride that you would take in the excellence of the product? In your knowledge of the complete process of manufacture? In your feelings toward your fellow-workers? In the kinds of pleasures that you would seek in your free hours?

2. Find out the main facts about the effect of the industrial revolution in England. See Warren's "Stories from English History," pp. 393–411.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GROWTH OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES

Everywhere in the United States during the first decades of the nineteenth century were signs of a new age. People from the East were rushing westward into the Mississippi Valley. Immigrants from all the countries of western Europe were crowding to our shores. New states were being admitted to the Union one after another. New generations were elbowing aside the older people of the Revolutionary period and their descendants who prided themselves on being "the real Americans." New questions were being debated. New problems — growing out of the rise of cities, the building of railways, the increase in the size of the working classes, and the strife of rich and poor — were troubling those who took an interest in public affairs. The slow and easy-going ways of colonial times were being left behind just as the landscape disappears behind a rapidly moving express train.

I. The Struggle for the Right to Vote

The Principles of the Early American Democracy. — Naturally these new ways of living, working, traveling, and thinking aroused a wider discussion of the problems of government. It was not long before leaders questioned many of the laws which had come down from the early days, and to inquire whether the government of the country was really in harmony with the ideals of liberty announced by the Fathers of our Country. At the time of the Revolution certain great principles of liberty and democracy had been proclaimed to the world in the Declaration of Independence:

From an old print

The elections in early days were often held in the open air, and every voter announced publicly the names of his candidates.

> The taxation of those who have no voice in the government is tyrannical.
>
> Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.
>
> All men are created equal.
>
> All men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

> The people have a right to alter or abolish their governments, and set up new governments, if such action is necessary to secure their rights.

Application of the Principles. — These were great ideals; but they were not strictly applied in the making of our first state constitutions and in the founding of our national government. There were many leading Americans at the time of the Revolution who feared the direct rule of the masses of common people as much as they did the rule of kings.

Hamilton said that society was divided into the few and the many — "the rich and well born," and "the mass of the people" who seldom judge or determine rightly. Madison declared that the despotism of a majority of the people was as much to be feared in the United States, as that of monarchs in Europe. Even Jefferson, who was regarded as a dangerous radical by many people in his day, was at first opposed to granting the right to vote to any man who did not own land; and he came to believe in manhood suffrage only in his later years. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first state constitutions and laws, although resting in theory upon "the consent of the governed," in fact excluded from the ballot a large portion of the men, to say nothing of the women.

Limitations on the Right to Vote. — The laws against equal political rights for men were in the main as follows:

1. In nearly all the states a man had to be a property owner or a tax-payer in order to vote.

2. In addition to excluding many poor men from the polls, the first state constitutions often provided that only wealthy men could hold office. Thus, even if people with little property voted, they could not elect one of their own kind to office.

3. Members of certain religious sects were in some states excluded from public offices.

Agitation for Wider Voting Privileges. — Such violations of the doctrines of the Revolution could not stand long unquestioned. Pamphlet writers began to appear. The call for the abolition of property and religious qualifications on the right to vote and hold office was heard throughout the land. Petitions were prepared and signed by thousands of people.

A Maryland writer announced that the time had come to open all offices to all men, rich and poor alike. In New York state one petition with seventy thousand signatures was laid before the legislature, asking for manhood suffrage. In Virginia, where only land owners (" freeholders ") could vote, the non-freeholders petitioned the constitutional convention of 1829 for the " precious right " of suffrage.

Arguments in Favor of Suffrage. — Those who advocated opening all offices and giving the ballot to all men based their pleas on simple principles of humanity and the Declaration of Independence — "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." They declared that the poor man needed the vote to protect himself and to secure laws in his favor, just as manufacturers secured protective tariffs in their favor. They repeated the battle cry of the Revolution: " There is no such thing as ' virtual representation ;' " that is, one who has no vote is not actually represented in the government. They denied that "the rich and well born" had a monopoly of virtue or intelligence. They scorned the idea that the poor were represented in the government when they had no voice in it. They concluded by saying that the men who were voteless were determined to get the ballot, and that it would be the better part of wisdom to give it to them without having too much trouble about it. In addition to the movement for manhood suffrage — the right of every adult male to vote — there was another agitation in favor of having more officers directly elected by the voters.

Arguments Urged against Extending Suffrage. — Everywhere these agitations for more democracy were condemned by those who had the privileges which others were trying to get It was urged that the new demands were assaults on cherished American ideas of government — attacks on the wisdom and honor of the men who framed the state constitutions. Arguments such as these were constantly heard:

> There is no real demand for manhood suffrage — only a few noisy agitators are stirring up the matter, while most of the people are satisfied with things as they are. We are happy and prosperous now; why make changes? Wherever ideas of extreme democracy, such as are proposed, have been tried in Europe, they have failed and ruined the governments. The poor have no interest or concern in the government because they have no property at stake, and Providence has decreed that there shall always be poor. Workingmen, if given the right to vote, will sell their vote to their employers and engage in politics for which they are not fitted. Giving them the right to vote and hold office will end in ruin.

The opponents of equal suffrage for men in the East generally objected to admitting western states to the Union and giving the men of the new country a voice in the federal government.

Popular Choice of Presidential Electors. — The right to choose presidential electors by popular vote was early advocated. The Constitution of the United States provided that electors should be chosen as the legislatures of the states might decide. In many cases the members of the legislatures decided to do the choosing themselves, often to the dissatisfaction of the voters at large. After much discussion the right of choosing electors was given directly to the voters. By 1832 every state except one had established "popular choice of presidential electors." The South Carolina legislature alone continued to choose them itself.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century there was also some agitation for popular election of United States Senators, who were chosen by the state legislatures. An amendment to the federal constitution was early proposed in Congress for this purpose. It did not receive any serious attention until long afterward, and was not adopted until 1913.

The Right to Vote Gains Gradually. — The fight for manhood suffrage was a long, hard battle in some states. In others, however, particularly in the West, it was easily won. Kentucky came into the Union in 1792 with a provision for manhood suffrage; Tennessee, in the constitution of 1796, gave the vote to every freeman who had resided in any county in the state for six months preceding the election; Ohio, in her first constitution, gave the vote to freeholders and all others who paid a state or county tax, no matter how small; Indiana, in 1816, gave the ballot to every free white male; and Illinois, two years later, followed the example of Indiana.

Some of the eastern states kept pace with the West; New Hampshire, Georgia, and Maryland early removed tax and property qualifications on the right to vote.

Other states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina clung with great firmness to property qualifications. New York refused to surrender the old system until 1826. Virginia held out until 1850, and North Carolina gave up the fight against white manhood suffrage in 1854.

Dorr's Rebellion. — In Rhode Island the agitation for manhood suffrage broke out into open violence and resistance to law. In that state only landholders could vote.

This meant, after the growth of the factory towns, that thousands of workingmen, clerks, teachers, and business men who did not hold land were without a voice in the government. For many years the non-freeholders made strenuous efforts to get the ballot; but the freeholders replied that their forefathers had established the system and they were going to keep it.

DORR'S REBELLION, AN EARLY STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE

In 1841 the exasperated non-voters called a convention of their own, drafted a constitution giving themselves the vote, and elected Thomas Dorr, a school-teacher, as governor. The regular government resisted the intruder and both parties prepared for civil war. Bloodshed was avoided, but Dorr and many of his followers were arrested and imprisoned.

The next year the conservatives surrendered and granted to practically all men the right to vote for state officers. Dorr from his prison heard the shouts announcing the victory; later he was released from confinement; and the decision of the court, which had sent him to jail, was crossed out on the records. Connecticut, frightened by the conflict across the border, granted manhood suffrage in 1845.

II. The Struggle for "Women's Rights"

Discriminations against Women. — While all this agitation about the rights of man was going on, women began to inquire about their rights. Women were subject to all the exclusive laws to which the poor man objected and to many others besides. A woman could not vote or hold office (with some very minor exceptions), no matter how much property she owned.

Women were excluded from the colleges, from the professions, such as law and medicine, and from a large number of the trades and business enterprises. In many states a married woman could not hold and manage property in her own name at all. When a married woman acquired property or inherited it, her husband had the right to take over the management of the real estate, collect the revenues and do what he pleased with them. He could claim as his own all her other property, such as jewels, money, and wages.

Women's Protest against Discriminations. — Many earnest and thoughtful women resented these discriminations, and leaders among them began to ask: Why should we not have the right to control our own property and wages? Why should we not have opportunities to obtain even the highest education possible? Why should we be excluded from the professions — law, medicine, and the ministry? Why should we be denied all voice in the government — the political right claimed for every white man, rich and poor, good and bad, educated and ignorant?

At first the protest was made privately; then it grew louder and louder; finally it was taken up by the newspapers and on the public platform. In 1825, when manhood suffrage was being demanded in New York and near-by states, Frances Wright made a plea that suffrage should be made "universal."

Ridicule Poured on Women's Rights. — All these activities in behalf of "women's rights" were laughed at. Conservative people were shocked at hearing women speak in public. It was said that it would break up the home if a married woman was entitled to hold her own property and keep the money she earned instead of turning it all over to her husband, or if she was given the vote.

All the arguments which had been advanced against giving equal suffrage to men were advanced against giving the ballot to women.

The First Women's Rights Convention. — Ridicule, of course, did not stop the agitation. In 1848, on the call of Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock, a women's rights convention, the first in the United States, was held at Seneca Falls, New York. The convention issued an important "declaration of rights." The newspapers made great sport of both the convention and the declaration, saying that the "Reign of Petticoats" was now announced. Undisturbed by the fact that they were stoned, insulted, and jailed, women kept up their agitation.

Rapid Gains of the Suffrage Movement. — The new movement gained steadily in numbers and in strength. It won the support of the ablest women in the country; including Margaret Fuller, a well-known journalist and lecturer of Massachusetts, and Lucy Stone, of Oberlin, the first woman college graduate in the United States. In 1851 Susan B. Anthony became a conspicuous leader and began her fifty-four-year campaign for woman suffrage.

Prominent men began to help. The great anti-slavery agitators, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, spoke for the women. Emerson, Whittier, and other New England writers endorsed their demands. Far in the West, Abraham Lincoln early approved the principle of sharing the government with those who carried its burdens, "by no means excluding the women." Suffrage conventions were held in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, and in 1850 a national convention attended by delegates from nine states was held and a national committee established.

Woman Suffrage and the Slavery Agitation. — The suffrage agitation was making rapid progress when the struggle over slavery and the Union came like a dreadful storm overshadowing everything else. The leaders in the suffrage movement, basing their claims on the fine principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, believed in liberty for all; naturally they aided the abolitionists in the attack on slavery. They hoped that freedom, when it came, would bring universal suffrage. They were doomed to disappointment. They saw the slave emancipated and the ballot thrust into his hands, and were told that they must wait.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. State the five principles of liberty that were laid down in the Declaration of Independence. 2. In most of the states what classes were denied the right to vote in the early days of the federal government? What people could not hold office? 3. What were the chief arguments in favor of extending the privilege of voting? Against this? 4. How did the Constitution provide for the choice of presidential electors? How are presidential electors chosen in all the states to-day? 5. What was "Dorr's Rebellion"? Why was it important?

II. 1. Name some of the rights that were denied to women in the early days of the federal government. 2. Who were some of the important leaders in the "Women's Rights" movement? 3. In what way was the movement opposed?

Problems for Further Study

1. The following restrictions on the right of suffrage have been from time to time applied or suggested. Arrange these in the order of their *injustice*, placing first the restriction that seems least reasonable, and so on; be ready to defend your judgment in each case:

Only those should be allowed to vote who can read and write the English language.

Only those should be allowed to vote who own land or other real estate.

Only those should be allowed to vote who belong to a particular church or hold a particular religious belief.

Only those should be allowed to vote who have reached the age of twenty-one.

Only those should be allowed to vote who have not been convicted of some crime.

Only those should be allowed to vote who are either native-born or naturalized citizens of the country.

Only those should be allowed to vote who are male citizens of the country.

Only those should be allowed to vote who have a degree of education equivalent to graduation from a four-year high school.

Only those should be allowed to vote whose ancestors were among the American soldiers in the Revolution.

Only those should be allowed to vote who are of sound mind.

Only those should be allowed to vote who are taxpayers.

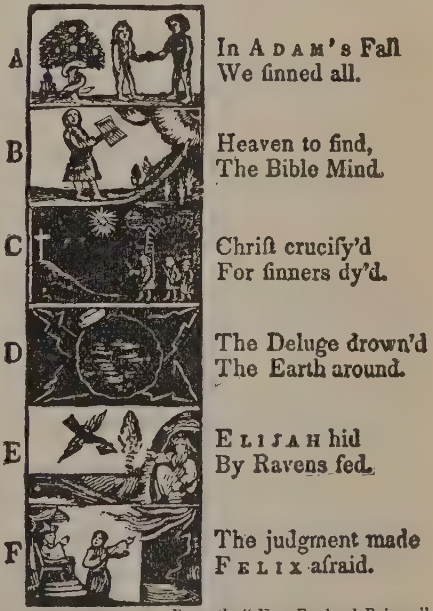
Only those should be allowed to vote who could serve as soldiers in time of war.

2. It has been said that every "right" carries with it a corresponding "duty." If this is true, what "duties," in your opinion, go with the right to vote? Name some conditions that might justify a voter in remaining away from the polls on election day. Name some excuses, commonly made, that would be unjustified.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

With the progress of the industrial revolution, the rise of cities, and the growth of political democracy in the United States there opened a new era in education. Early in colonial times reading schools and Latin grammar schools had been established in many places, and some steps had been taken toward the support of schools by public taxation. Nevertheless, a large part of the people (certainly a majority outside of New England) could neither read nor write, while but a scant few were able to attend secondary schools and colleges.



A In ADAM's Fall
We ſinned all.

B Heaven to find,
The Bible Mind.

C Chriſt crucify'd
For ſinners dy'd.

D The Deluge drown'd
The Earth around.

E ELIJAH hid
By Ravens fed.

F The judgment made
FELIX afraid.

From the "New England Primer"

A Page from a Famous Schoolbook

The reasons for establishing schools and colleges in colonial times were religious rather than educational. Children were taught to read and write, not merely because knowledge was a good thing in itself, but in order that they might learn the doctrines of the churches to which their parents belonged and sometimes the chief laws against evil-doers. The main purpose of the colleges was to train clergymen for the churches.

I. The Development of Free Elementary Schools

Lower Schools Removed from Religious Control. — Perhaps the most striking step in the educational movement of the nineteenth century was the withdrawal of the schools from the control of religious denominations. By the opening of that century the old schools had lost something of their strictly religious character. Certain non-religious or "secular" subjects, like arithmetic, history, and geography, had been introduced; but the schools were still under the influence of religious authorities. The rapid growth of sects in every community, however, soon made difficult the practice of teaching any one religious doctrine in schools in any way supported from public funds or conducted under public supervision.

There were three possible solutions of the problem: each church, if it could raise the money, could establish its own school at great expense; the children could remain ignorant and illiterate; or there could be one school for the teaching of "secular" subjects, leaving religious instruction for the homes and the Sunday schools.

Immigration helped to settle the matter. It was soon clear that the newcomers would have to be taught before they could be transformed into American citizens. In addition to teaching the "foreigners" how to read and write English, it was thought necessary to give them some knowledge of the geography and history of their adopted country. For these and other reasons, the strictly religious purposes which were prominent in the schools in earlier times began to give way to the "secular" ideals. This change was well started by the opening of the nineteenth century, but its influence spread slowly.

The Development of Free Schools. *Early Difficulties in the Way of Universal Education.* — When elementary education is really "universal," that is, when all children between the ages of six and fourteen are attending school, large sums of money must be spent for school grounds, buildings, furniture, and apparatus, as well as for teachers' salaries. Even those who early recognized the need of universal education found their efforts therefore blocked by the lack of money.

Reliance on Charity for the Support of Schools. — Several ways were devised to pay the bills. In New York and other cities of the middle states, the elementary schools for the masses were for a long time supported entirely by philanthropy. Societies raised money for schools just as they obtain gifts for orphans' homes to-day.

Indeed, such schools were often known as "charity schools." This naturally aroused a great deal of criticism from those who believed that education was a right which society owed to all children. Workingmen, who especially objected to charity schools, had great influence in bringing about a system of free, tax-supported elementary education.

Schools Controlled by Religious Bodies. — In other parts of the country where the people as a whole were slow to adopt the principle of tax-supported schools, the well-to-do churches tried to provide elementary education, either free or at a very small cost, for the children of the poor of all religious sects. This also had its disadvantages. Children attending such schools learned the religious doctrines of the denomination which furnished money; this displeased many parents. Often, too, the denominations controlling these schools tried to obtain aid from taxation, and this led to bitter disputes among the different sects.

Proposals for Providing Elementary Education at a Low Cost: the Lancaster-Bell Monitorial System. — An ingenious method of making a little money go a long way in the work of education was borrowed from England, where it had been introduced early in the nineteenth century. The largest item in the cost of maintaining schools is the payment of teachers' salaries. When the demand for universal education became strong in England (as it did about this time), two men, — John Lancaster and Andrew Bell, — thought out a plan which, they believed, would reduce this item to a minimum. They proposed to place one mature and well-prepared teacher in charge of each large school. The first duty of this teacher was to instruct a group of the older pupils, who, after they had made some progress, were placed in charge of still younger pupils. They gave a part of each day to the work, and continued their own studies during the remainder of the time. As each group of pupils came into the higher classes, it took its turn at teaching the younger pupils. In this way, a never-ending supply of pupil-teachers or "monitors" could be secured at little or no cost beyond the provision and maintenance of a schoolhouse and the payment of a salary to a single teacher.

MILES

A Pupil-Teacher, or Monitor, Inspecting Slates in a Monitorial School

This plan, known as the "Lancaster-Bell system" or the "monitorial system," was hailed in England as the solution of the problem of universal education. Its introduction into the schools of Pennsylvania and New York was felt at the time to be a long step forward. It at least afforded some education for all children, but it was at best a make-shift.

The Struggle for Tax Support. — Efforts to convince the people that education is properly a great public enterprise which should be liberally supported by public taxation were indeed long and arduous. People of wealth who had no children asked why they should be taxed for the education of other people's boys and girls. Yet the demand for education was so strong that in the end all the northern states passed laws compelling local communities to support free elementary schools. By 1850 free schools were general throughout the North and the Middle West, and in some of the states the percentage of illiterates in the total population was almost as low as it is to-day.

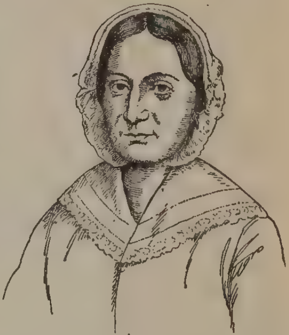
The Leaders of the Free-school Movement. *Horace Mann and the Educational Revival in Massachusetts.* — There are several men and women who should be remembered and honored because of the work that they did in firmly establishing the principle of free schools. Among these leaders, Horace Mann holds a high place. As Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, he journeyed up and down the state, called the people together in the cities, the villages, and the rural districts, and convinced them that they must grant money generously to support free public schools. The newspapers carried the message to other states, and Mann was called upon to lecture throughout the North and the Middle West. He not only pleaded with the taxpayers to be more liberal in their support of schools. He gathered the teachers together and helped them to organize institutes for their own professional improvement. He urged with good results the establishment of state-supported and state-controlled normal schools for the training of public-school teachers. He also stimulated the development of free libraries.

HORACE MANN

Henry Barnard. — New England produced another great educational leader in the person of Henry Barnard, who for many years served as Secretary of the State Board of Education of Connecticut. Barnard stirred the people to take a greater interest in their schools and to support education more liberally. Moreover, he brought to them, through a journal that he published, important information about the rapid progress of public education in Europe. This was pure generosity on Barnard's part, for his journal, although very influential throughout the country, never repaid the cost of publication. He supported it almost entirely from his own funds, and thus spent the greater part of his modest fortune.

De Witt Clinton. — In the history of the gradual building up of the free public schools, Governor De Witt Clinton of New York also deserves a notable place. He urged the founding of free schools supported entirely by taxation. As a result of his efforts, in 1821 all towns in that state were ordered to support schools at public expense. In 1842 other leaders induced the state to provide that the City of New York should have a Board of Education, and within a few years a system of free public schools was created there.

Emma Willard and Mary Lyon. — With Barnard and Mann there are two women who hold a high place in the record of American educational progress. The first of these, Mrs. Emma Willard, founded a female seminary in Vermont as early as 1814 and seven years later opened her famous seminary in Troy, New York. She wrote many textbooks for the schools, some of which were translated into foreign languages and used abroad. She journeyed far and wide pleading the cause of popular education, one year traveling eight thousand miles through the southern states addressing conventions of teachers.



MARY LYON

The second, Mary Lyon, after a long teaching experience in academies, founded in 1837 at South Hadley, Massachusetts, the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, which later became Mount Holyoke College. This seminary won fame everywhere for the high character of its teaching and did much to give standing to "female" education. Among the many contributions of Mary Lyon was her plan for plain and simple living for the students, which reduced the cost of education and made more parents willing to make sacrifices for their daughters.

Robert Owen and Frances Wright.—In the history of popular education credit must also be given to many of the leaders and friends of working people. Robert Owen, a distinguished Englishman who believed in the education of all the people rich and poor, visited the United States and started hundreds of artisans to thinking about education for their children. Frances Wright was also a prominent leader in the struggle of the laboring classes for free schools in the United States. In their trade unions and clubs labor leaders supplemented the work of Barnard, Mann, and others, by demanding that legislatures vote the money to carry out the plans of the great educational reformers.

The Work of the Teachers. — To the names of Mann and Barnard should really be added those of hundreds and thousands of public-school teachers throughout the country. Not all the teachers of that day looked upon their work as a great profession or sought to increase its services to the people; but many teachers did take this view, and worked in season and out for better schools and for laws that would make universal education a reality instead of a dream. They formed organizations for the improvement of their work, sent delegates to plead the cause of the people's schools before the legislatures, and lost no occasion to impress upon their own pupils the need and the value of better education.

The Free-school Movement in the Northwest. — One might expect to find more rapid growth of free schools in the new western states than in the East, for it will be remembered that the Land Ordinance of 1785 had set aside for the support of schools one section of land in each township of the Northwest Territory, besides making very liberal land grants for higher institutions. As a matter of fact, the development of education in these new states was by no means rapid. In a great many cases the value of the school lands was not foreseen, and instead of being held until they could be sold at a good price, they were almost given away. In other cases, they were leased for very long periods of time at low rental. In still other cases (unfortunately all too numerous), the funds derived from the sale or the lease of school lands were diverted to other purposes. Sometimes, indeed, they found their way into the pockets of private citizens. Thus one of the most generous endowments ever made for educational purposes fell far short of giving to the people its largest possible benefits — and chiefly because the people did not take the proper care of their funds.

And so, in all the middle western states as in New England, the agitation for tax support had to be carried on. As in the East, the people seemed sometimes not to care very much whether their children could go to school or not. The "educated man" was not popular, for the rough work of conquering the wilderness seemed to demand brawn and muscle rather than "book-learning" and culture. Although the state constitution of Indiana, which went into effect in 1816, made provision for a complete system of public schools and colleges, little was done for thirty years to carry out these provisions, and then only after a struggle like that which Horace Mann carried on in Massachusetts.

That the proposals of the Indiana constitution were far in advance of the demands of the Middle West is shown by the fact that the constitution of Illinois, adopted in 1818, contained not a single word regarding education or the establishment of public schools. Indeed, the elementary schools of Illinois were in wretched condition until the middle of the century, when the wave of revival reached the state. In Missouri, the revival did not come until after 1865.

Conditions in the South. — The South did little to encourage free schools before that date, although some progress was made by certain of the states, notably by North Carolina. The merchants in the towns and cities could depend upon private schools, while the planters could hire tutors for their children. The South had many academies for boys and girls and boasted of some of the finest private libraries in the country. Many southern leaders, like Calhoun, of Yale, were educated in northern colleges. The white population of the upland and mountain districts was too poor to support schools. Since there was little immigration from Europe, the need of free public schools for assimilating alien peoples was not so keenly felt as in the North.

II. HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES; THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

The Development of Secondary Education. *The Academies.*—Before the Revolution, a new type of secondary school known as the "academy" had come into existence. It was different from the old Latin grammar school in which Greek, Latin, logic, and mathematics were the chief studies. It laid more emphasis upon such subjects as English, mathematics, drawing, and the rudiments of the sciences. The academies were not public schools and were not supported by taxation, but they were somewhat more democratic than the older Latin grammar schools where a few young men were prepared for college. They were attended largely by the children of fairly well-to-do merchants and farmers, who could afford to pay the tuition fees and the board and lodging of their children.

After the Revolution, these academies increased in number and finally almost entirely displaced the Latin grammar schools, especially after they began to prepare students for college.

The Beginnings of the Public High School. — About 1820 a demand arose for another type of secondary school, — a school controlled by the public, designed to prepare children more for the work of life, and open to children whose parents could not afford the heavy tuition fees and the boarding and lodging expenses of the academies. In 1821 such a school was established in Boston by the public school board acting for the people of that city. In 1825 a somewhat similar school was founded in New York City. These were the first American high schools.

High schools were not at the outset connected with the lower schools as our present-day high schools are; that is, children did not "graduate" from the eighth grade and then go on to the high school. The grading system, indeed, was unknown as yet. The high schools were open to boys who had completed certain studies. They kept the boys for four or five years, giving them work in English, mathematics, drawing, surveying, navigation, bookkeeping, and similar "practical" studies. They did not teach Latin or other foreign languages at first, nor did they attempt to prepare pupils for college.

THE ENGLISH CLASSICAL SCHOOL, THE FIRST HIGH SCHOOL IN BOSTON, ESTABLISHED IN 1821

The idea of a public high school spread very slowly. The battle for taxation had to be fought again. While the people were being won over to supporting elementary schools by taxation, many still thought that only such rudiments as reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history should be provided at public expense. By 1860, however, there were probably as many as one hundred public high schools in the towns and cities of the northern and middle western states, although the academy still prevailed as the leading type of secondary school.

Higher Education. — While the public schools were being created, colleges continued to multiply. The religious denominations needed schools for the training of their clergy, and their colleges, once established, came to attract students who were looking forward to law and medicine as well as to the ministry.

The Beginnings of the State University. — The idea of free, tax-supported education, which was slowly being extended to include the high schools, was destined to reach the colleges and universities. Leaders came to believe that education in all branches should be open to all and should be furnished at public expense. The ideal had appeared in the Land Ordinance of 1785, which provided a grant of land for a public college in each of the states that should be carved out of the Northwest Territory. It had also been foreshadowed by the ambitious proposals of Thomas Jefferson, who planned for Virginia a great educational system, including elementary schools, high schools, and finally a state university.

THE OLDEST PICTURE OF ONE OF THE FIRST PROMINENT STATE UNIVERSITIES, THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN IN 1855

Many of the state universities of the South were opened very early in the country's history: North Carolina, 1795; Georgia, 1801; South Carolina, 1804. In the Middle West, Ohio in 1802, and Indiana in 1824, led the way. The first of the state universities to attain a wide reputation as the capstone of the public-school system was the University of Michigan, which was planned most pretentiously in 1817 and opened very modestly in 1841.

The Education of Girls and Women. — So far we have spoken of education as if it concerned boys and girls alike. As a matter of fact the education of girls and women lagged far behind that of boys and men. Only in the lowest elementary schools were girls freely admitted, in order that they might learn to read and write and master the catechism. The grammar schools and the academies, which prepared boys for college or for business, were closed to girls. It was not thought necessary for a long time to give them more than the merest rudiments of learning. In the early part of the nineteenth century a serious writer exclaimed: "All a girl needs to know is enough to reckon how much she will have to spend to buy a peck of potatoes in case she becomes a widow." In view of the prevalence of such opinions, it is not surprising that all the colleges were closed to women.

Higher Education of Women. — The general awakening of women, however, produced many reforms in the field of education. Being barred from the grammar schools, the academies, and even the few public high schools, women turned to "female" academies and seminaries which began to spring up all over the country. In 1833 Oberlin College did a daring thing by opening its doors to women, and in 1847 it graduated Lucy Stone who, as we have said, became one of the leading champions of higher education and equal political rights for women. In 1853, Horace Mann, the famous New England educator, who had been called to the presidency of Antioch College in Ohio, invited women to come and share the advantages offered to men. These were striking exceptions. By 1860 there were only four or five colleges in the whole country open to women, and even at Oberlin they were confined to a special "select" course of studies. The state universities supported by taxation were closed to them.

Summary. — By the middle of the nineteenth century the United States had given up the old-fashioned and aristocratic view that the common people needed merely the elements of education — reading, writing, and arithmetic, —

and were unworthy of the best of the world's thought. In the place of this old-fashioned notion had been adopted the principle, if not the practice, that the gateways to learning should be opened to all, rich and poor, boys and girls, alike.

In order to apply the principle certain standards had been worked out:

1. Graded schools should be maintained through public taxation and opened freely to all.

2. In order to prevent the backward regions from neglecting the education of their youth, the state government should aid and control its entire school system.

3. The public schools should not be sectarian; that is, controlled by any religious denomination.

4. Teachers should be trained at public expense.

5. The state should not rely upon religious bodies or gifts from the rich to furnish college education for young men and women, but should establish colleges and universities as free to the citizens as the public schools themselves.

III. THE NEWSPAPERS

The Significance of the Press. — If the people had been compelled to rely upon the schools alone for their education, their progress would have been slow indeed. The schools gave the keys of knowledge to the masses and made it possible for them to read the books, papers, pamphlets, and magazines of every party, sect, creed, and group. It was this that broke down the monopoly of learning by any sect or class. It is the newspaper and the book that make a person a citizen of a nation and of the world rather than the inhabitant of a narrow community. It is the press that opens to the humblest the record of the past and of the day. It is the press that by the hourly discussion of every live topic makes it possible for millions to think together and prepare the way for action together. The noblest and the wisest think in vain if their thoughts are confined to their own minds and perish with them. The schools and the press,—these are the mighty weapons of popular government. The rise and growth of democracy is marked by their rise and growth.

The Colonial Press. — The history of the press and the history of the schools run parallel. The printing press was first regarded as a powerful ally of the schools in the spread of religious doctrines. Within ten years after the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, namely in 1639, a printing press was set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The next year the first book published on American soil —the "Bay Psalm Book"— was issued.

Kind of Printing Press Used by Benjamin Franklin

For a long time printing was confined mainly to religious works, but in 1690 a newspaper appeared in Boston, bearing the curious title of *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic.* It was regarded with so much alarm, however, that the government promptly suppressed it. Fourteen years later a second paper, *The Boston News Letter*, a little sheet of four small pages, the first regular newspaper in America, ventured forth. Within a few years weekly newspapers had been founded in New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg (Virginia), and Charleston. *The Maryland Gazette* was established in 1745. The oldest newspaper in

North America which has continued without interruption or change of name is the *New Hampshire Gazette*, which started on its career in 1756. None of the colonial papers, however, were dailies. It was not until 1784 that the first daily, the *American Daily Advertiser*, was founded in Philadelphia.

The colonial papers were crude, and had only a small circulation. For example, only three hundred copies of the *Boston News Letter* were printed each week. The type was set by hand, and the printing was done on a hand press, which printed one sheet at a time. By the hardest labor, only two or three hundred copies an hour could be printed. There was little news in the papers, because the editors assumed that every one knew what was going on in the local community, and relied upon foreign newspapers and private letters for information about outside affairs. Sometimes, however, there were startling "sensations," as in 1704, when the *Boston News Letter* described in detail the execution of six pirates in Charles River.

The Royal Governors Oppose the Freedom of the Press. — Small as these papers were, they were widely read; consequently the royal officers in the colonies objected to their saying anything about political matters. In New York, for example, a publisher by the name of Peter Zenger was imprisoned in 1735 for criticizing the governor, and lawyers who agreed to defend him lost their licenses. When Zenger's trial was held, a lawyer from Philadelphia, Andrew Hamilton, was called to defend him. There was great excitement during the trial. Hamilton in his speech to the jury declared: "It is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, that the jury is now trying. It is the cause of liberty!" Zenger was acquitted by the jury, amid public rejoicing, and Hamilton was wined and dined and given the freedom of the City of New York. In

Virginia the newspaper seems to have been controlled by the royal governor. Jefferson thought in 1766 that in order to get a public discussion of disputes with Great Britain it was necessary to found another paper, because the printer of the old sheet would not publish anything that displeased the governor.

The Influence of the Colonial Press on the Revolution. — The royal officers were correct in assuming that the newspapers would stir up public discontent with the government. The feeling against Great Britain on the eve of the War for Independence was strongest in the news centers: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston. In the newspaper offices ardent young revolutionists wrote appeals to their countrymen to resist Great Britain. These little newspapers were scattered around in the coffee houses and club rooms, spreading rebellion everywhere. The editors in each town copied extensively from the newspapers published in other places. They helped to carry the news of the revolutionary movement and to create a nation by enabling the citizens in every part to know what was going on in the most distant places. The Royalists of Boston called the office of the *Massachusetts Spy* the " sedition foundry."

Growth of Newspapers after the Revolution. *The Rise of the Partisan Press.* — Following the establishment of independence, the number of newspapers rapidly increased. With the adoption of the Constitution and the growth of the two political parties, Federalists and Jeffersonians, the discussion of political issues became of supreme importance. Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury and a leading Federalist, raised money among his party friends to support the *United States Gazette;* while Jefferson, Secretary of State, gave his support to the Republican paper, *The National Gazette.* In a little while, party papers appeared everywhere, abusing one another and the public officers of opposite views. As early as 1793 *The Sentinel of the Northwest* was founded in Cincinnati by the postmaster, and it was not long before every little frontier town had a newspaper of some sort. Special newspapers, such as the papers published for workingmen, *The Liberator* issued by Garrison for the Abolitionists, and temperance sheets, appeared in large numbers.

Newspaper Development in the Nineteenth Century. — It would be impossible to record here the marvelous growth of newspapers during the first half of the nineteenth century, but some of the reasons for the development may be briefly summarized:

1. The telegraph and railway multiplied manyfold the means of securing information for the newspapers.

2. As the cities grew in size and population increased, the newspapers secured more and more paid advertising, and thus were able to reduce their subscription price. In 1833 the *New York Sun* startled the newspaper world by introducing a penny paper. That enabled the man in the street to have his newspaper every day. In the larger cities the weekly newspapers were driven out by the dailies.

3. Universal education made it possible for the humblest to read.

4. There appeared a number of newspapers of national influence. One of these was the *New York Tribune*, founded in 1841 by Horace Greeley. Daily and weekly editions of this famous paper were published, and thousands of farmers in the East and West relied upon the *Tribune* for their national news and their political opinions.

5. The old-fashioned hand press was superseded about 1850, in all the larger newspaper offices, by a rapid rotary machine driven by steam. Instead of two or three hundred copies an hour, publishers could then turn out several

thousand copies an hour. Cheap printing, combined with advertising, made it possible for every one to have books and newspapers at a small cost.

6. In order to encourage the reading of newspapers, the government fixed the postage rate for printed material at a very low figure, even less than the actual cost of carriage.

IV. Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books

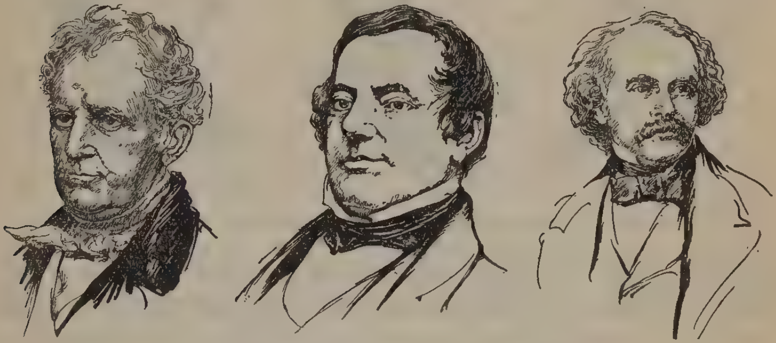
The Magazines. — Although the popular magazine with its circulation of millions belongs to our own day, the beginnings of such periodicals run back beyond the Revolution. Before the end of the eighteenth century there were at least forty magazines, registers, reviews, "museums," and "repositories of knowledge." They satisfied a popular thirst for more general information than that found in the weekly and daily press. They included articles on music, poetry, and literature, and in time extensive discussions of current political questions.

Among the most noted of the early magazines was the *North American Review*, established in 1815 and continued until the present day without interruption. Twelve years later (1827) the first magazine intended for women alone, the *Ladies' Magazine*, was founded. It was in connection with the illustration of women's magazines that the art of steel engraving was developed to a high point which admitted of its wide use by other publications. It was illustrations that made magazines popular.

Political Pamphlets. — Some of the greatest American political writings appeared during the exciting years that followed the quarrel with Great Britain and the establishment of the Constitution. Thomas Paine, in his *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, aided powerfully in raising the revolt against the mother country and vigorous thinking about popular government. In the contest over the adoption of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay wrote a remarkable series of papers in the defense of the new plan of government, later collected as *The Federalist*, and used generally as a textbook on American government. Among the later political writers should be mentioned John C. Calhoun, the famous statesman and defender of slavery from South Carolina, and Daniel Webster, whose speeches on the Constitution and Union were almost as widely circulated in the North as *The Federalist* itself.

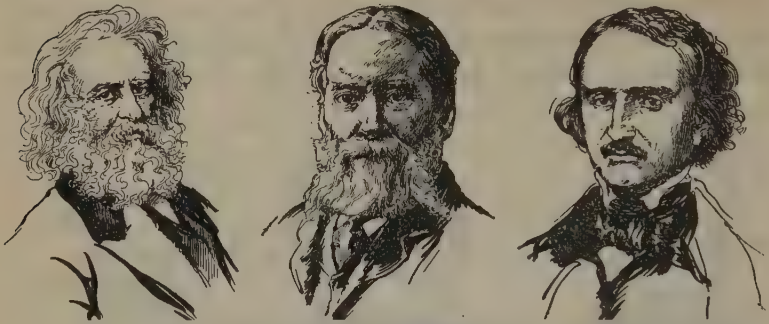
The Development of the Novel. *Early American Novels.* — The earliest American writers of romance, like Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), followed European models. Even when they did lay the scenes of their stories in this country they brought in Old World characters — scornful gentlemen and fainting ladies. Neither here nor in England was it thought that America afforded any materials for tales of the imagination. Here there were no towering battlements, no lordly knights, no lovely ladies in castles, no giants or ogres. American life was hard and practical, and even the most fanciful did not think that real stories could be woven out of the doings of common people. James K. Paulding (1779–1860) undertook a novel along American lines when he published "The Backwoodsman," but it won only a scanty recognition. It required courage and a new kind of skill and imagination to create an American romance.

Cooper, Irving, and Hawthorne.—About the third decade of the nineteenth century authors succeeded in writing stories of American life that attracted serious attention abroad as well as at home. In 1831 James Fenimore Cooper published "The Spy," a story of the American Revolution; and this was followed by his tales of Indian adventure, which speedily gave him a reputation in foreign lands as far away as Persia. To this period also belong Washington Irving, whose legends, "Rip Van Winkle" and "Sleepy Hollow," have taken their place in the enduring literature of America; Edgar Allan Poe, whose mysterious and exciting stories gave him a wide circle of readers; Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose "Twice Told Tales," "Mosses from an Old Manse," and "Scarlet Letter" won for him more than national reputation; and Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose "Uncle Tom's Cabin" stirred the North on the subject of slavery.



COOPER, IRVING, AND HAWTHORNE

Poetry. — Most of the poetry of this period was given to the country by New England. In some of it, such as "Evangeline," "Hiawatha," and the "Courtship of Miles Standish" by Longfellow, American romances were chosen. In some, the voice of the reformer was heard. James Russell Lowell, in the "Biglow Papers," sharply criticized the government for carrying on the Mexican War. John Greenleaf Whittier denounced slavery and preached the cause of abolition and woman suffrage. Other New England poets followed the classical models of the Old World. William Cullen Bryant, with his "Thanatopsis" written while he was a youth not yet eighteen, secured lasting fame. From the South came Edgar Allan Poe, whose "Raven," published in 1845, established his reputation forever; and two other poets of genuine worth, Paul Hamilton Hayne of South Carolina, and Sidney Lanier of Georgia.



LONGFELLOW, LOWELL, AND POE

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. What was the chief reason for the establishment of schools in early colonial times? 2. What is the meaning of "secular" education? 3. Why did the growth of different religious sects and denominations lead to the secularization of education? 4. What effect did immigration from Europe have upon this movement? 5. What is meant by "universal" education? 6. How did Lancaster and Bell plan to make elementary education universal? What, in your opinion, would be some of the disadvantages of schools organized on their plan? 7. Who were some of the important leaders in the movement for free, tax-supported schools? 8. What provisions were made by the federal government for the support of schools in the western country? Why were these provisions not sufficient for the schools? 9. Why did education develop more slowly in the South than in the North and the West?

II. 1. How did the academies differ from our present high schools? 2. Why did the high schools grow so slowly at first? 3. How were the early colleges supported? 4. What state was the first to establish a public, tax-supported university as a part of its public-school system? 5. What opportunities did girls and women have for education in colonial times? In the early days of the Republic? 6. What causes led to a recognition of the need of education for women as well as men?

III. 1. What is meant by the "Press"? By a "free press"? 2. Why is a "free press" so important in a democracy? Why did the colonial governors often oppose the development of newspapers? What influence did the newspapers have upon the struggle for independence? 3. To-day each newspaper usually represents some political party. When did this practice begin? 4. What causes led to the rapid development of newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century?

IV. 1. Name some of the early magazines. 2. Who were some of the political leaders who spread their ideas by means of pamphlets? If these men lived to-day, what means would they probably use to get their ideas before the people? 3. Why were novels and poems dealing with American life so slow to appear? Who were the important American writers of novels and poems in the first half of the nineteenth century?

Problems for Further Study

1. Find out how much it costs to maintain the public schools of your town or city for a year, including salaries for superintendent, principals, teachers, and other school employees, and the cost of fuel and other supplies. Divide the total cost by the number of pupils enrolled in the schools each year in order to find how much is spent for each pupil. Where does the money for the support of your schools come from?

2. The Ordinance of 1785 set aside one section of land (640 acres) in each township of thirty-six sections for the support of schools. Find how much rent 640 acres of farm land would bring each year in your town or township. Would this be sufficient to-day to support the schools?

3. Prepare a brief account of the work of Horace Mann.

See Brooks's "Stories of the Old Bay State," pp. 250–257.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION (CHAPTERS XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX)

I. Political development between 1815 and 1845.
   A. Important political issues of the period.
      1. The protective tariff.
      2. Internal improvements.
      3. The sale of public lands.
      4. The United States Bank.
   B. Political leadership.
      1. The administrations of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams.
      2. Andrew Jackson's administration.
      3. Webster, Hayne, Clay, and Calhoun.
   C. The rise of the Whig party.
      1. The campaign of 1840: Harrison and Tyler.
      2. Tyler's unpopularity: the Ashburton Treaty.
II. The settlement of the territory west of the Mississippi.
   A. Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa.
   B. The Texas problem: the admission of Texas.
III. The war with Mexico: Cause, campaigns, and terms of peace.
IV. The settlement of the far western country.
   A. Oregon, California, and Utah.
   B. Summary of the far western movement.
V. The industrial revolution.
   A. England's early leadership in industry.
   B. The development of manufacturing in America.
      1. The cotton industry: the cotton gin.
      2. The woolen industry.
      3. The invention of the sewing machine.
      4. The iron industry: development in Pennsylvania.
   C. The development of farm machinery.
   D. Means of transportation and communication.
      1. Canals.
      2. The steamboat.
      3. The railroad.
      4. The express business.
      5. The telegraph: the Atlantic cable.
      6. Ocean navigation.

VI. The effect of the industrial revolution upon American life.
  A. The division of labor and the separation of the worker from his tools.
  B. Women in the factories, child labor.
  C. Immigration stimulated to bring new supply of labor.
  D. The labor movement.
  E. The growth of the cities.
  F. Foreign trade.
  G. The South and the industrial revolution.
VII. The growth of political democracy.
  A. The struggle for universal manhood suffrage.
  B. The struggle for women's rights.
VIII. The development of popular education in the first half of the nineteenth century.
  A. The religious character and purpose of colonial schools.
  B. The removal of the schools from the control of the church.
  C. The development of free elementary schools.
  D. The development of high schools.
  E. The development of higher education: state universities.
  F. The education of girls and women.
  G. The development of the newspapers, magazines, and political pamphlets.
  H. The early American novels, American poetry.

Important names:

Presidents: John Quincy Adams (1825–1829), Jackson (1829–1837), Van Buren (1837–1841), Harrison and Tyler (1841–1845), and Polk (1845–1849).

Other Political Leaders: Clay, Webster, Calhoun.

Pioneers: Moses Austin, Marcus Whitman, Brigham Young.

Inventors: Slater, Whitney, Fulton, Howe, McCormick, and Morse.

Educational Leaders: Mann, Barnard, Clinton, Mary Lyon, and Emma Willard.

Labor Leaders: Robert Owen and Frances Wright.

Writers: Paine, Cooper, Irving, Hawthorne, Poe, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Military Leaders: Taylor and Scott.

Important date: 1846–1848.

CHAPTER XX

THE GREAT POLITICAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

The wonderful advance in invention, industry, education, western settlement, and democracy made the future of the United States seem full of promise; but on the horizon there hung a dark cloud which grew larger day by day. The storm of civil war was approaching. The very progress we have described prepared the way for it by marking the country off into three distinct sections: the manufacturing Northeast, the free farming West, and the planting South.

These economic differences led to sharp differences of opinion about the policies to be pursued by the federal government.

1. The planters of the South demanded free trade with Europe, in order that they might freely exchange their cotton, rice, tobacco, and hemp for manufactured goods.

2. The manufacturers of the Northeast, on the other hand, insisted that the government should put a tax on manufactured goods coming into the country, in order that they might have control of American markets.

3. The free farmers of the West were divided in opinion. At some elections they voted with the South and at others they voted with the Northeast. At last many of them were won over to the latter, partly by offers of internal improvements and free land to be granted to citizens from the public domain.

As time went on, the opposition between the North and the South became more and more bitter. Attacks finally were made on slavery, the source of Southern power, and in the end the issues were tried out on the field of battle.

I. Slavery Becomes a National Problem

The Constitution a Compromise on the Question of Slavery. — The founders of the Constitution had recognized the existence of jealousy between the "commercial" and the "planting" sections of the country. Only by a series of necessary compromises had they succeeded in bringing the two together into the Union. As we have seen, they agreed, in effect, although they did not mention slavery in the Constitution:

(1) that the importation of slaves from abroad should not be prohibited before 1808;

(2) that the slave states should be given representation in the House of Representatives for three fifths of their slaves;

(3) that slaves escaping into other states should be returned to their masters when properly claimed;

(4) that the consent of two thirds of the Senators should be necessary for treaties, so that commercial arrangements could not be made with other nations without the approval of at least some Southern Senators.

With slavery in the states, the framers of the Constitution did not interfere at all, leaving the matter to be decided by each state as it saw fit.

Many of the "Fathers" Opposed Slavery. — Several of the patriot fathers who framed the Constitution were strongly opposed to slavery and in favor of putting an end to it, but they thought the Union was so important that it should not be endangered by a quarrel over slavery itself.

Washington, for example, disliked slavery and provided in his will that his own slaves should be set free after the death of his wife. Jefferson believed that slavery was contrary to every principle of human justice and could not endure forever. He even went so far as to introduce into the Virginia legislature a bill providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves. George Mason, a Virginia member of the Convention that drafted the Constitution of the United States, denounced human bondage in vigorous terms, saying: "Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. Slaves prevent the immigration of whites. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. Slaves bring the judgment of heaven on a country."

Northern States Abolish Slavery. — The early opponents of slavery were much encouraged by the fact that the Northern states had begun to abolish it within a few years after the Declaration of Independence. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 declared all men to be born free and equal; this was held to put an end to slavery. In the same year Pennsylvania provided for gradual abolition. New York in 1799 declared that all children of slaves born after July 4th of that year should be free, though held for a long term as apprentices; and in 1827 the state legislature swept away the last remnants of slavery. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey followed the example of these states. In Virginia and Kentucky, there was some talk of abolition, and some slave owners joined the African Colonization Society founded in 1816 to assist free negroes in returning to Africa to found free colonies.

Arguments for Slavery in the South. — Nevertheless, there were many citizens who, from the very first, were bitterly opposed to all talk about abolition. The delegates of South Carolina to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 declared that slavery was absolutely necessary to carry on the plantations of their state. They also strongly objected to stopping the importation of slaves, on the ground that the number of deaths every year in the rice swamps made it necessary for planters to have new supplies constantly. It is a mistake to say, therefore, that the Fathers were all agreed that slavery was an evil. Many of them, particularly from the Far South, thought it not only necessary, but, on the whole, good for the negroes as well as for the planters.

Why Slavery Became a National Problem. — The great mass of the American people in the opening decades of the nineteenth century probably did not think very much about slavery one way or the other. They were busy with the opening up of the West and Southwest; then came the War of 1812 which lasted for three years; and after that arose the questions of a protective tariff, a national bank, the Monroe Doctrine, and other important political issues. A few Quakers presented a petition against slavery to the first Congress under the Constitution; but most citizens were opposed to bringing slavery into national politics at all. Whenever they had occasion to discuss it, they said that it was a matter for the states to settle for themselves.

It was impossible, nevertheless, to keep slavery out of national politics altogether, because it inevitably came to the front in the following ways:

1. When a new state was about to be admitted to the Union, the question naturally arose in Congress whether it should be admitted as a free or a slave state.

2. Whenever new land was acquired or new territories were organized by Congress, the question came up as to whether slavery should be prohibited or permitted. In connection with this there arose a dispute as to whether Congress even had the power, under the Constitution, to abolish or prevent slavery in the territories.

3. Since Congress had full power to govern the District of Columbia, abolitionists demanded that it should, at all events, abolish slavery at the national capital.

4. The Constitution provided that slaves escaping from their masters into other states should be delivered up on claim of their owners. The citizens of the free states disliked very much to see "slave catching" going on around them, even if they were not much disturbed by slavery some hundreds of miles away. In this connection there arose the question as to how far the federal government should help in the work of returning runaway slaves to their owners.

5. Finally the extreme abolitionists demanded immediate emancipation, in spite of the Constitution, which recognized the existence of slavery in Southern states as lawful. Some of them even advocated that the free states should withdraw from what they called an "unholy union" with slave states.

The Situation in 1820. — The question as to the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in any territory owned by the United States arose early in connection with the government of the lands beyond the Alleghenies; and at the time it was decided that Congress had full authority. The Northwest Territory above the Ohio River was declared to be free territory by the famous Ordinance of 1787,[1] and as a result the states afterward established therein became free states. On the other hand, the territory to the south of the Ohio became slave territory. Kentucky, which had been a part of Virginia, was admitted to the Union in 1792 as a slave state. Tennessee came in four years later on the same terms. The territory between Georgia and the Mississippi was declared to be slave territory, and when Alabama and Mississippi were admitted slavery was continued.

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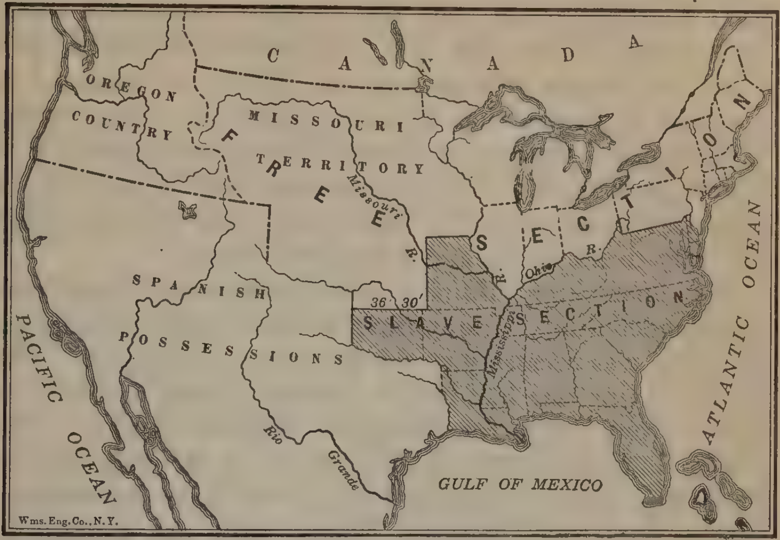
[1] The Ordinance was afterwards approved by the first Congress under the Constitution, and thus the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the territories was confirmed.



THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

Accordingly in 1820 there were in the Union eleven free states and eleven slave states:

FREE STATES
Vermont
New Hampshire
Massachusetts
Connecticut
Rhode Island
New York
New Jersey
Pennsylvania
Ohio
Indiana
Illinois

SLAVE STATES
Delaware
Maryland
Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Kentucky
Alabama
Tennessee
Mississippi
Louisiana

The Missouri Compromise (1820). — Thus things stood when the inhabitants of Missouri, in 1818, asked for the right to form a state. There were many slaves in Missouri, because the lands had been taken up largely by settlers from Southern states, who had brought slaves with them. Their right to do this had not been questioned, and when they sought admission to the Union they assumed as a matter of course that Missouri would be a slave state. It happened, however, that there were many opponents of slavery in Congress, who were determined, if possible, to check its spread beyond the Mississippi. Neither side would give way to the other, and a deadlock ensued.

The Admission of Maine.—The deadlock might have continued indefinitely. The approval of both houses of Congress, of course, was necessary to the admission of Missouri. The South, having one half of the Senators, could prevent the Senate from voting for admission without slavery. The North, having control of the House of Representatives, could keep a slave territory out of the Union indefinitely. Just at that time, however, Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, of which it had formerly been a part, was applying for admission. The friends of slavery would not admit a new free state unless their opponents would admit a new slave state. The contest was settled by a compromise. Missouri was admitted with slavery, and Maine with freedom, thus continuing the even balance between the free and slave states.

Other Features of the Compromise.—At the same time it was agreed that the remainder of the Louisiana territory north of the parallel of 36° 30′ should be forever free, and understood that south of that line slavery would continue. This was really a great gain for the friends of freedom, for the area won for liberty was several times the size of the region left for slavery. Moreover, the principle was once more approved, that Congress could abolish slavery in the territories belonging to the United States. On the whole, therefore, the North came out of the conflict victorious, although some continued to declare that any concession to slavery was in fact a defeat. The moderate citizens on both sides were fairly well satisfied.

II. The Abolition Movement

Garrison and the "Liberator." — For a while after the Missouri Compromise, very little was heard in national politics about slavery, and many people thought the question was settled forever. Their hopes were short-lived, however. Within a few years a number of Northern men and women began to agitate for the complete abolition of the slavery system throughout the entire Union. Some of them proposed gradual emancipation and the payment of the slave owners for their property, in part, at least, out of the sale of public lands. Others, more radical and more impatient, demanded immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery without any payment whatever. Among the latter was William Lloyd Garrison, who, in 1831, began to publish in Boston his famous paper, known as the *Liberator*, bearing at its head the motto: "Our country is the world — our countrymen, all mankind."

Agitators Create Bitter Opposition. — The group of radical agitators soon encountered bitter hatred on the part of the people at large in the North as well as in the South. While, no doubt, very few men in the North or South would have voted to establish slavery, if it had not already existed, the majority of them, as yet, took little or no interest in abolition. Many powerful Northern bankers objected to any agitation, because they had heavy investments in Southern trade and mortgages on Southern plantations. Others held that if the North opposed slavery the Southern states might secede, and thus break up the Union which had been built with such great labor and sacrifice.

To this argument Garrison replied that the Union with slaveholders was an evil covenant, and that he preferred to see the Constitution of the Union in ruins rather than to remain longer a citizen of a slave nation. The opponents of the agitation stirred up riots against Garrison and his followers, and sometimes mobbed them when they attempted to state their views in public. In 1835 Garrison was assaulted in the streets of Boston. Two years later, Lovejoy, another anti-slavery leader, was killed at Alton, Illinois, and his printing presses broken to pieces, as a warning to all men who attacked slavery.

The agitators were not daunted by mobs. They prepared books, pamphlets, and leaflets depicting the evils of slavery, and sent their publications through the mails all over the South. This, of course, thoroughly frightened the Southern people. Their fear was increased by a terrible uprising of slaves in Virginia, in 1831, known as Nat Turner's Rebellion, in which a number of white men, women, and children had been brutally killed. It was said in the South that the anti-slavery agitators were, in fact, encouraging negroes to murder their own masters. A demand was made that abolition literature should be excluded from the post office.

Petitioning the Congress: the "Gag Rule." — Among the favorite devices of the agitators was the use of the petition to Congress. They prepared protests against slavery in the territories, in the District of Columbia, and in the Southern states as well, and secured thousands of signatures. These they dispatched to Congress from every direction. Southern Representatives in Congress insisted that it was insulting to them to receive such petitions and demanded that the practice be stopped.

In 1836 the House of Representatives declared that, while it could not prevent anti-slavery agitators from circulating petitions and presenting them, it would prevent the reading of these petitions. Under this "gag" resolution, as it was called, petitions were simply thrown into the waste basket when they were received. For nearly ten years John Quincy Adams, the former President, then a member of Congress, continued to protest against this treatment of petitions. Finally, in 1844, the practice was abandoned.

Slavery Grows in Spite of Opposition. — Notwithstanding the agitation against slavery, the slaveholders were to all appearances growing more and more powerful in the country. The new machinery for spinning and weaving in England and New England created such a demand for cotton that all the energies of the South were required to supply it. In 1792, the year in which Whitney invented his cotton gin, less than two hundred thousand pounds of cotton was sent out of the United States to Europe. Within three years the shipments had risen to six million pounds. By 1850 cotton made up more than one half of the total value of all the goods exported from the United States. No wonder the Southern leaders were saying "Cotton is King."

The demand for laborers to till the fields increased and the number of slaves multiplied. In 1790 there were about 700,000 slaves in the United States; forty years later the number had grown to 2,000,000; and about 1860 there were 3,954,000, valued at more than $2,000,000,000. In the older states, slave owners began to raise slaves to sell in the Southwest, and thousands were smuggled into the country from Africa in spite of the law against it.

The Slaveholders a Small Group. — At the middle of the nineteenth century, only about one white man in five or six in the South owned slaves. Nevertheless, the slave owners, certainly less than one fourth of the adult white males in the slave states, ruled the South through their great wealth and power. The influence of this small class in the government at Washington was all the stronger, because the Constitution provided that in apportioning representatives among the states according to numbers, the South should be allowed to count three fifths of its slaves as persons. Thus a Southern state had more representatives in the lower house of Congress than a Northern state with the same number of voters.

Calhoun's Defense of Slavery. — As the country grew richer and richer from cotton, Southern leaders became more and more impatient with the anti-slavery agitators. In the early days, many Southern statesmen had spoken of slavery as a great wrong, but the newer generation of Southern men began to defend it warmly instead of criticizing or apologizing for it. For instance, Calhoun, Senator from South Carolina, said that slavery, far from being an evil was a good, "a perfect good," the only possible relation that could exist between the white race and the black. He said that the slaves were taken away from barbarism in Africa and brought up to a certain degree of civilization in the South; that they were looked after in their sickness and old age by kind masters, and were not usually as cruelly treated as workmen in mills and factories. On the contrary, he said, the modern workingman was in a sadder plight than the slave, because he had to work for long hours and low wages in factories; in case of sickness or accident he was compelled to starve; and in his old age he was turned out to die or live in a poorhouse, because he was no longer valuable to his employer. Thus the Southern statesmen took issue with the anti-slavery agitators, denouncing the wage system of the North as more cruel to the workers than the slave system of the South. Furthermore, they urged that discontented workmen would be more dangerous to the country as a whole than the peaceful bondmen.

III. THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

The Wilmot Proviso. — All this discussion stirred up ill feeling in both sections of the Union, and when, after the close of the Mexican War, the question arose as to what should be done with the territory acquired, a storm again broke out in Congress over slavery. David Wilmot, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, had proposed in 1846 that any territory taken from Mexico should be free territory and that slavery should be entirely forbidden in it, as it had been in the Northwest Territory under the famous Ordinance of 1787. The slave owners had been very active in the annexation of Texas and were in no mood to surrender their rights in the territory finally taken from Mexico by the treaty of 1848. They intended to make it, as far as possible, slave territory and to increase and fortify the power of the South in the federal government. The "Wilmot Proviso," as it was called, was, therefore, rejected.

California Asks Admission. — Having defeated Wilmot's proviso, they were much disturbed to find the matter reopened in 1849, when the voters of California called a convention, approved a state constitution forbidding slavery, and asked admission to the Union. President Taylor, the hero of the Mexican War, who had been elected as the Whig candidate in 1848, transmitted to Congress in 1850 the request of California. Northern men were generally in favor of the proposal; Southern leaders were opposed to it.

Varying Opinions; "Squatter Sovereignty." — At that time the country was roughly divided into five groups:

(1) A small number of agitators who were determined that slavery should be abolished, and were prepared to carry on an agitation until the goal was reached.

(2) A small group of Southerners, equally determined on the other side, who declared that slavery was not only a good thing to be defended to the uttermost, but that it should be spread all over the territories of the West — perhaps all over the United States.

(3) A very large group of Northerners who were willing to let slavery alone in the South, but were determined that it should not grow by extension to the territories, or to the new states admitted to the Union north of the Missouri compromise line.

(4) A group of moderate Southern men who feared that by forcing slavery on all the territories they might bring about a desperate conflict between the North and the South, and, therefore, were willing to come to some compromise in the matter.

(5) A group of men in the North and South who believed that voters of each territory should be permitted to decide whether or not they would establish slavery. This last plan — especially associated with the name of Stephen A. Douglas — was called "squatter sovereignty" because it proposed that the settlers or "squatters" in the territories should decide the question for themselves without interference from the outside.

The Compromise of 1850. — As a result of the conflict among all these groups another compromise was arranged in 1850, by that master of compromises, Henry Clay, of Kentucky. He said it was evident that the people of each section would have to yield some of the points in the dispute in order to prevent war. He was able to bring about the following settlement:

1. California was admitted as a free state.
2. Buying and selling slaves was abolished in the District of Columbia, while slavery itself was continued there.
3. The voters of the New Mexico and Utah territories

were to be permitted to choose for themselves between freedom and slavery.

4. There was enacted by Congress a strict "fugitive slave law" under which it was easier for slave owners to catch their runaway slaves in the North and take them home.

Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. — This great compromise, arranged by political leaders, failed to bring about "the union of hearts," as Clay had hoped. On the contrary, it made the anti-slavery people in the North more bitter than ever. They were especially angry about the fugitive slave law. Before the passage of that act slave owners who sought to capture runaway slaves in the North had been compelled to depend upon local sheriffs and constables, and had found it difficult indeed to secure help in seizing their property. Under the new law of 1850 it was provided that United States officers should assume full responsibility for aiding owners in search for their slaves.

The Fugitive Slave Law allowed runaway slaves in free territory to be captured.

In many a Northern city and village where people had previously thought very little about slavery, they were now deeply stirred by seeing federal officers capture and handcuff negroes and drive them through the streets on the way South to their former owners. Thousands who had had no opinion about slavery one way or the other were now opposed to it.

The "Underground Railroad." — As time went on the opponents of slavery helped more and more negroes to escape from the South. They laid out certain routes known as "underground railroads" from village to village, and selected in each place one or two trusted families as guards. They sent agents into the South to bring slaves into free states, and then carried them at night along these routes, hiding them in the daytime in cellars and garrets at the homes of the keepers of "underground stations."

"Uncle Tom's Cabin." — While this agitation was going on, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe published, in 1852, her famous novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in which she set forth the worst features of slavery in the most vivid language. The book seemed to show that all masters were unkind and that all slaves were as noble as Uncle Tom, though, of course, this was not the purpose of the author.

Perhaps nothing else stirred the North so much as this moving story. Hundreds of thousands of copies were sold in a short time. It was dramatized and played in every little village and hamlet throughout the North. Thus literally millions of people who were not accustomed to read serious books and newspapers began to wonder whether they should longer tolerate slavery. Southern people were also stirred by "Uncle Tom's Cabin." They said it was not a true picture of slavery and was an insult to the entire South. Ill will between the sections was greatly increased.

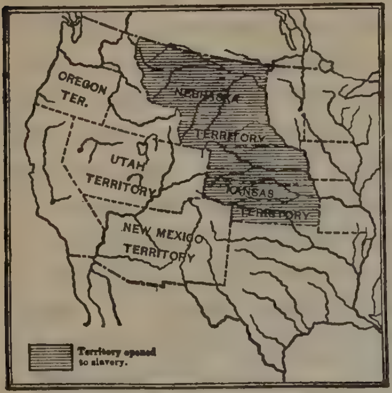
Anti-slavery Political Parties. — Some of the most active anti-slavery leaders ventured to leave the old parties — Whigs and Democrats — and found a new one. In 1840, a few of them held a convention and nominated James C. Birney for President, but their candidate polled only about seven thousand votes in the election of that year. They named their organization the "Liberty Party," and, with Birney as their candidate again in 1844, they secured sixty-two thousand votes. Four years later the opponents of slavery formed the "Free Soil Party," nominated for President Martin Van Buren, of New York, and obtained nearly three hundred thousand votes, largely, it seems, from former Northern Democrats who were loyal to the stanch friend of Andrew Jackson. The next presidential year, the Free Soil party suffered a serious decline in strength, for the popular vote for its candidate, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, was only about half that secured in 1848.

IV. The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Its Consequences

The pro-slavery advocates among the Democrats, on electing their candidate, Franklin Pierce, in 1852, came to the conclusion that the danger from the abolitionists was subsiding.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) Repeals the Missouri Compromise. — Apparently overconfident, under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, the Democrats took a step in favor of slavery which startled the North. In 1854, in an act organizing the Kansas and Nebraska territories, they repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, by which it had been agreed that slavery should be prohibited in the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30′.

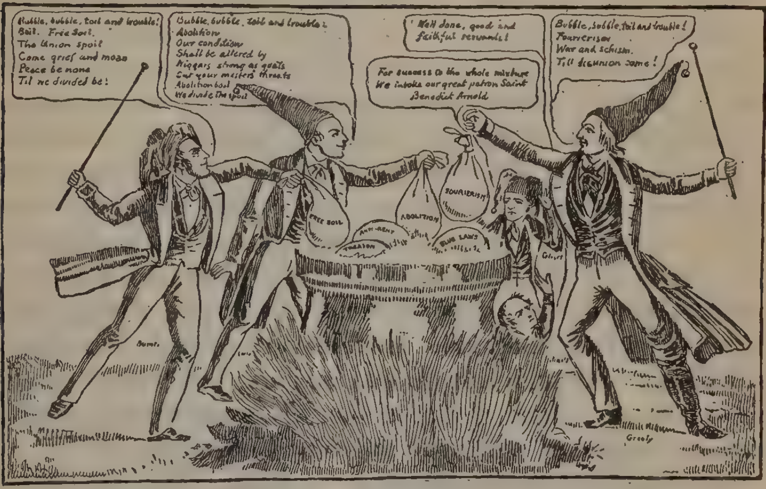
The North flamed up at once. Hundreds of moderate men — Whigs and Democrats alike — who were willing to let slavery alone in the states where it already existed, said this bill showed a determination on the part of slave owners to rule or ruin the whole country. Douglas was burned in effigy in Northern cities — indeed, he said himself that he could travel from Boston to Chicago in the light of the fires. Men began to desert the Whigs, who refused to take a stand on the slavery question, and the Democrats, who seemed committed to the slaveholding interest. These deserters from the old parties demanded that the extension of slavery, at least in the territories, be stopped.



THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA TERRITORY OPENED TO SLAVERY IN 1854

The Republican Party Organized (1854).— So it came about in 1854 that a new party, called the Republican party, was formed in the North. It held its first national convention at Philadelphia in June, 1856, and nominated for President John C. Frémont, the Western explorer. It declared that it was the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, and that Kansas should be admitted as a free state. With the advent of the Republicans, the Whigs began to go to pieces and many Democrats, who disliked slavery, went over to the new party. In the campaign of 1856, however, the Democrats were again victorious, electing James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, by nearly five hundred thousand votes more than Frémont polled.

Border Warfare in Kansas. — Having carried the election, the Democrats let the people of Kansas fight out among themselves the question as to whether slavery should be permitted there. They literally did fight — with rifles and knives. Pro-slavery men from the South and anti-slavery men and women from the North rushed to Kansas, each side bent on winning the state. The result was a veritable civil war. The attention of the whole nation was called to " bleeding Kansas " — and to the utter failure of the doctrine of " squatter sovereignty " as a plan for settling the issue of slavery. Southern Democrats wanted to bring Kansas into the Union under a constitution which protected all the slave owners who had taken their slaves into the territory. The Free Soil men rejected it and drew up a constitution of their own at Topeka, but Congress refused to admit Kansas as a free state until 1861.


Bubble, bubble, toil and trouble! Boil. Free Soil. The Union spoil Come grief and moan Peace be none Til we divided be!
Bubble, bubble, toil and trouble! Abolition Our condition Shall be altered by Niggars strong as goats Cut your masters throats Abolition boil We divide the spoil
Well done, good and faithful servants!
For success to the whole mixture We invoke our great patron Saint Benedict Arnold
Bubble, bubble, toil and trouble! Fourierism War and schism. Till disunion come!
FREE SOIL
ABOLITION
FOURIERISM
ANTI-RENT
TREASON
BLUE LAWS
Greely

THE HURLY-BURLY POT

A Democratic cartoon showing the Republican party as a collection of discontented elements.

The Dred Scott Decision (1857). — Although they were defeated in their effort to make Kansas a slave state, the pro-slavery Democrats won a great victory by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in March, 1857. Dred Scott, a slave from Missouri, had been taken by his master into territory north of the Missouri Compromise line, and he claimed in the Supreme Court of the United States that residence in this "free territory" made him "free." In deciding the case, Chief Justice Taney declared that Congress had no power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the territories. This meant that it would be necessary to change the Constitution before Congress could legally prohibit slavery there, and it required the approval of three fourths of all the states to amend the Constitution. The Court also held that the Missouri Compromise had been unconstitutional and void. The Southern leaders and their Northern sympathizers rejoiced in the decision, for apparently the Supreme Court had blocked the plan of the new Republican party to abolish slavery in all the territories by act of Congress. Anti-slavery leaders denounced the Court and said that it was nothing but a tool of the slave owners. They declared that Congress would prohibit slavery in spite of what the Supreme Court had said.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. — About this time, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, candidates in Illinois for the United States Senate, held a series of debates which attracted the attention of the whole country. Lincoln took the ground that slavery should be prohibited in the territories and vigorously attacked Douglas' doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." He asked Douglas how the people of a territory could abolish slavery, when the Dred Scott decision had declared that even Congress, which had the supreme power in governing the territories, could not do it. This forced Douglas into a corner, but he continued to maintain that the people of a territory by "unfriendly" legislation could lawfully drive out slavery.

Although Douglas won the election, he really lost the debates. The extremists among the Southern leaders were furious with him for saying that slavery could be abolished in a territory by popular action, thus destroying the fruits of the Dred Scott decision. Lincoln, on the other hand, as a result of his clear and striking statement of the Republican case against slavery in the territories, became a national figure.

WESTWARD THE STAR OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY
THE GIRLS LINK ON TO LINCOLN
THEIR MOTHERS WERE FOR CLAY"
THE LITTLE GIANT CHAWING UP OLD ABE
ABE THE GIANT-KILLER

From a photograph

ONE OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES, SEVEN OF WHICH WERE HELD BETWEEN AUGUST 21 AND OCTOBER 15, 1858

John Brown's Raid. — While Lincoln was attacking slavery in the territories, and the abolitionists were denouncing it everywhere, a grim and resolute man, John

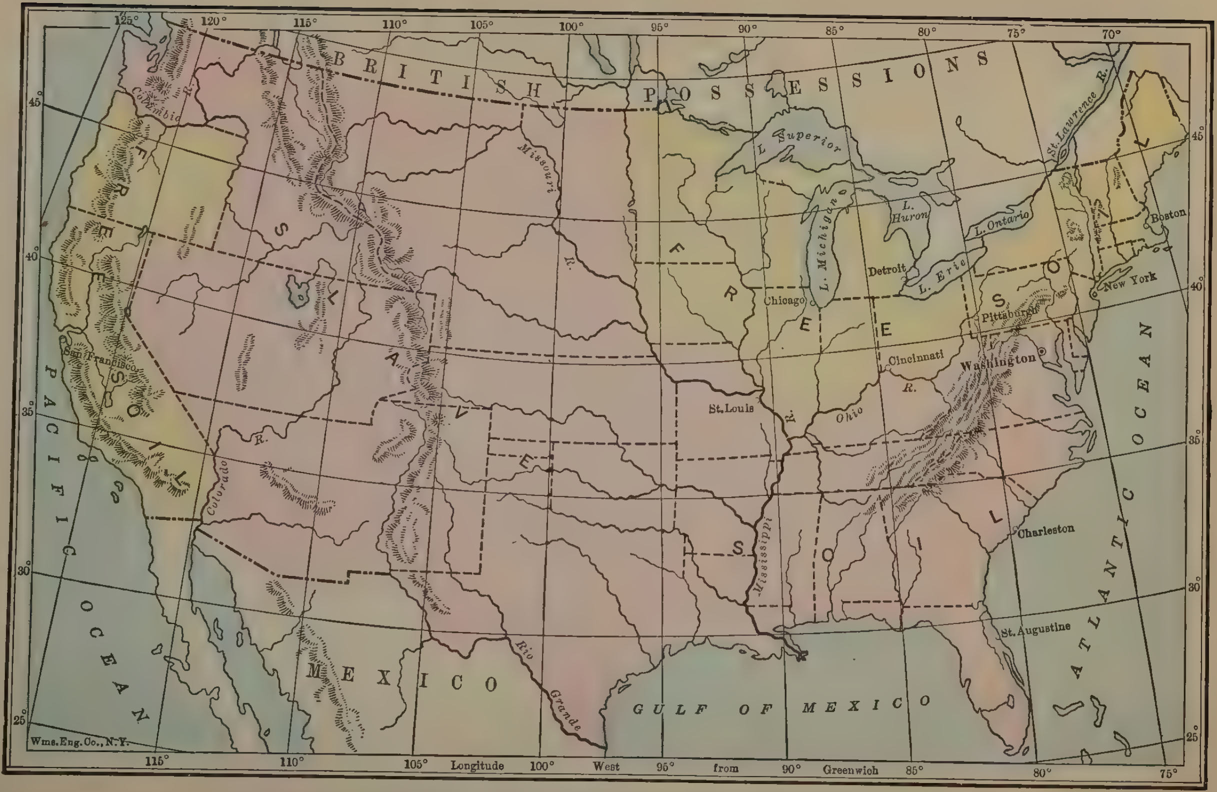
Brown, with a band of followers, invaded the South for the purpose of stirring up a slave revolt and bringing about emancipation by violence. Brown so hated slavery that it rankled in his bosom day and night. During the bloody struggle in Kansas he had hurried to the frontier to fight slave owners, and by deeds of daring and cruelty had become an outlaw on whose head a high price was set. In 1859 he went into Virginia. In October of that year, with a handful of men, he seized the government armory at Harper's Ferry, declared the slaves whom he found there to be free, and called upon them to take up arms for their liberty. While fighting desperately, Brown was captured. A few weeks later he was declared guilty of murder and treason against Virginia and hanged.

Like an alarm bell on a still night, this raid brought the hearts of the American people to their throats. The South had visions of terrible slave uprisings in every community. Lincoln and nearly all the Republican leaders denounced Brown's rash deed as the act of a madman. But it strained still more the weakening tie between the North and the South.

V. THE POLITICAL SITUATION ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

The Tariff and Homestead Issues. — Deeply as the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Dred Scott decision were resented in the North, it was by no means certain that the majority of the voters were in favor of abolishing slavery in the territories or even disturbing slavery at all. It was apparently impossible for the Republicans to win the presidency on the slavery question alone. Luckily for them, the Democrats gave them another issue by attacking the protective tariff.

In 1857, the year of the Dred Scott decision, Congress,

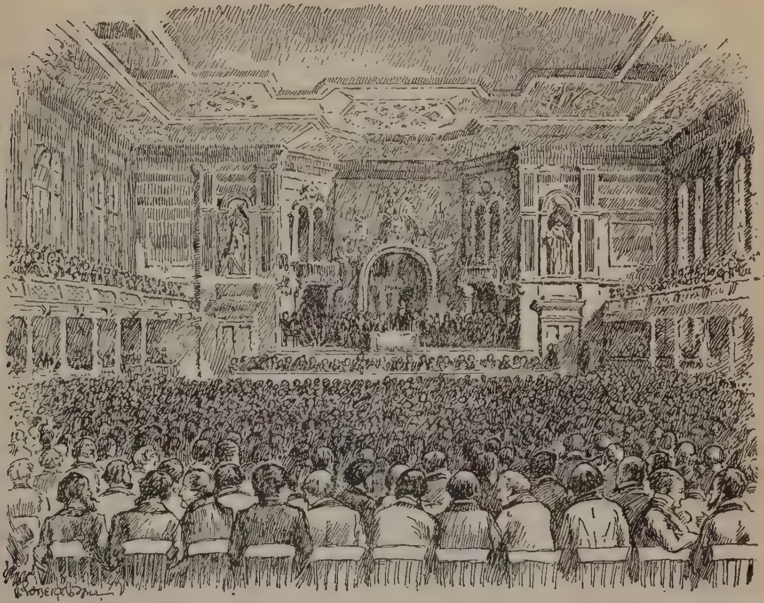


SLAVE AND FREE SOIL ACCORDING TO THE DRED SCOTT DECISION, 1857 under the direction of Southern leaders, made a decided reduction in the tariff, much to the dissatisfaction of the middle and western states, particularly Pennsylvania and Ohio. Thousands of people who did not care about slavery at all did care about this "assault upon American industry" by the Southern planters. Feeling against the Democrats was further increased, especially among the farmers of the West and workingmen, when President Buchanan vetoed an act of Congress proposing to give farms practically free of charge to those who wished to settle on the government lands. The South was afraid that it would be overbalanced by the commercial, manufacturing, and free farming states of the North, if it permitted the encouragement of industries by tariffs and the immediate settlement of the western lands by free gifts.

The Republican Aid to Manufacturers and Farmers. — When the Republicans came to hold their second national convention at Chicago in 1860, they found themselves strengthened by new and powerful recruits: (1) advocates of a high protective tariff and (2) friends of the free farmers and workingmen who wanted to open up the western lands for rapid settlement. In their platform, the Republicans declared against slavery in the territories and in favor of a protective tariff and free homesteads. All these issues were dovetailed together. If the territories were free and free states were erected out of them, the predominance of the South would be broken forever in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives. The industrial states would then be in less danger of attacks upon laws protecting their manufacturing interests. The question of slavery was therefore involved in another issue — the contest between the two economic systems — the planting South and the manufacturing North. The free farmers of the West held the balance of power.

Lincoln, a Son of the Soil. — When the hour came for selecting their candidate, the Republicans had to be careful. It was necessary to win Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The southern sections of these states were filled with settlers from the South who, even if they did not like slavery, were violently opposed to anything that savored of abolition. In the other parts of these states the confidence of the farmers had to be won. The selection of a violent opponent of slavery, like William H. Seward, Senator from New York, was therefore thought unwise. So the managers made a happy choice. They chose Abraham Lincoln, a man of Southern origin, a son of the soil, born of poor parents, a pioneer who had in his youth labored in the forests and fields. It was known that he disliked slavery but that he was no abolitionist. Though willing to let slavery alone in the South, he was firmly in favor of unconditional prohibition of slavery in the territories. Of his sincerity there could be no doubt. He was a speaker and writer of singular power, commanding, by the use of clear and simple language, the minds and hearts of those who heard him or read his printed words. With Lincoln as a candidate, the farmers of the Northwest could be won; and, with the protective tariff plank in the platform, the great industrial state of Pennsylvania could be torn away from the free-trade Democrats. While the abolitionists were not satisfied with the candidate or the platform, moderate opponents of slavery exulted in the thought of limiting the system to the states where it already existed.

Division among the Democrats. — The Democrats, instead of presenting a solid front to the Republicans, were divided among themselves. In fact, they split into two parties. The moderate Democrats nominated as their candidate Douglas, the exponent of "squatter sovereignty." The uncompromising, pro-slavery Democrats, who demanded that slavery should be recognized as right and upheld by the country, put forward as their candidate John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky. Some of the old Whigs and moderate Democrats selected John Bell of Tennessee on a platform which called for loyalty to the Union and silence on the slavery issue. With the country thus divided, Lincoln was elected President, although he polled little more than one third of the total vote.



From a photograph

The Democratic Convention of 1860, which Split, Nominating Two Candidates for the Presidency

Questions and Exercises

I.—1. What were the provisions of the Constitution regarding slavery? What did many of the prominent Southern members of the Convention think of slavery? 2. Why did the

South oppose the admission of new "free" states? Why did the North oppose the admission of new "slave" states? 3. Would you speak of the opposition of the North to the extension of slavery as due to a belief that slavery was wrong? Give reasons for your answer. 4. What is meant by a "compromise"? State the principal points of the Missouri Compromise.

II. 1. Who were the "abolitionists"? How did their attitude toward slavery differ from that of most of the people of the North? Who were the important leaders among the abolitionists? 2. What was the "gag rule" and how did it come to be passed? 3. What conditions led to the large increase in the number and value of slaves in the southern states? 4. What were Calhoun's arguments in defense of slavery?

III. 1. Why is the "Wilmot proviso" remembered in our history even though it failed to become a law? 2. Name the important events and conditions that led to the Compromise of 1850? What were the provisions of the Compromise? Which of these were favorable to the North and which to the South? 3. Why did the South demand that the federal government pass a fugitive slave law? In your opinion, considering the conditions that existed, was this demand justified? 4. Who wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin"? Why would a book like this have an influence that newspaper articles and speeches in Congress could not have in increasing the feeling against slavery?

IV. 1. In what way did the Kansas-Nebraska Act repeal the Missouri Compromise? 2. What was meant by "squatter sovereignty"? Why was it hoped that this might settle the slavery quarrel? Why was this hope given up? 3. Name the steps that led to the formation of the Republican party. What other political parties opposed to the extension of slavery had preceded it? What important party did it displace? 4. Why was the Dred Scott decision unpopular in the North? 5. State the important differences between the position taken by Douglas and that taken by Lincoln in the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

Review: 1. From the table of presidents (Appendix, p. 641) find the administration in which each of the following events occurred: The Missouri Compromise; the passage of the "gag rule"; the Compromise of 1850; the Kansas-Nebraska act; the Dred Scott decision; the Lincoln-Douglas debates; "border warfare" in Kansas. 2. Each of the following dates is connected with an important event relating to slavery. Find out what the event was and why it is considered important: 1619, 1787, 1789, 1808, 1820, 1846, 1850, 1854, 1857, 1858.

Problems for Further Study

1. Imagine yourself living on a southern plantation during slavery days. Give an account of how the work of the plantation was done and how the slaves were treated.

See Hart's "Romance of the Civil War," pp. 1–8, 9–13, 18–28.

2. The Kansas-Nebraska Act has been said to be "the most momentous piece of legislation in the United States before the Civil War." Give as many reasons as you can for considering it so important.

See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. i, ch. xv; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 284–287; Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln," pp. 94–107; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," pp. 378–383.

3. Select one of the following men for special study. Be ready to tell the class what this man did to make his name remembered in connection with this important period of American history:

Henry Clay: See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 158–165; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," ch. viii; Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. i, pp. 225–229.

Daniel Webster: See Brooks's "Stories of the Old Bay State," 192–199; Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 166–175; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," ch. x.

Stephen A. Douglas: See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. i, pp. 300–336; Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln" (see references under Douglas in the index); Hart's "Source Book," pp. 291–294.

John C. Calhoun: See Hart's "Source Book," pp. 234–237.

4. Tell the story of Lincoln's life with reference to the part that he played in the events described in this chapter.

See Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln," chs. vi, vii, viii, ix; Wheeler's "Abraham Lincoln," chs. xiv, xv; Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 199–205; Sparks's "The Men Who Made the Nation," pp. 378–390.

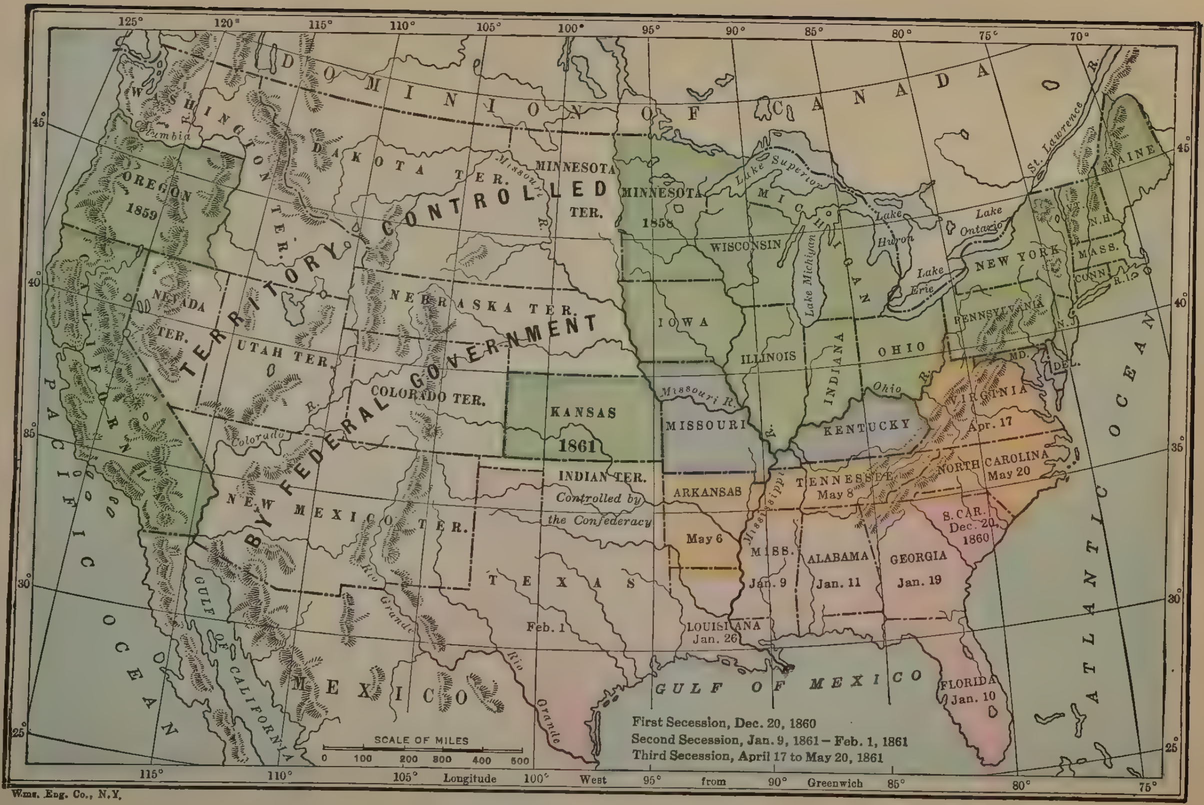
CHAPTER XXI

THE CIVIL WAR

I. Secession

When the news of Lincoln's election was received, the more determined southern leaders prepared to take their states out of the Union. South Carolina led the way. The voters were ordered by the state legislature to elect delegates to a convention which met in Charleston on December 17, 1860. After a few days of debate the convention passed a resolution declaring that the union between South Carolina and the other states was dissolved, and that South Carolina would take her place among the "free and independent nations of the earth." Other states to the far south followed the example set by South Carolina. Before March 4, 1861, the time for the inauguration of Lincoln, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had seceded and proclaimed their independence.

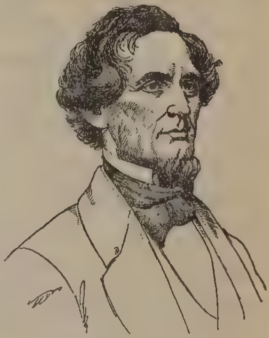
In withdrawing from the Union the southern leaders declared that they were acting lawfully for these reasons: (1) the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain had recognized each state by name as free and independent; (2) the Articles of Confederation had expressly recognized that each state was "sovereign"; (3) the Constitution had been made by agreement among free and equal states; and (4) sovereign states had a legal and moral right to cancel such an agreement.



THE UNITED STATES IN 1861

The border states in purple remained loyal.

The Confederate States of America. — In order to maintain their independence and defend themselves, in case the government of the United States should attempt by force to keep them under the Stars and Stripes, these seven states sent delegates to a convention held in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, 1861, for the purpose of forming a Union of their own. The delegates drafted a plan of government in many respects like the Constitution of the United States. It did not leave untouched, however, the question whether a state could withdraw from the Union; on the contrary, it expressly declared that each state was free, sovereign, and independent. Moreover, it adopted the name "Confederate States of America," thus announcing to the world that the league so formed was merely an association of independent states. The Montgomery convention, unlike the Philadelphia convention of 1787, which had even refused to mention slavery in the Constitution, declared that the protection of slavery was one of the prime purposes of the Confederacy. In order to put the new government into effect, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected president, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, vice president. Davis was a man of undoubted ability and courage, who had long defended the rights of the South as he saw them. The people of the Confederacy looked to him, with confidence and affection, as a great leader.



Jefferson Davis

Divided Opinion in the North. — In the North various views were held about the withdrawal of the slave states from the Union. Many of the radical Abolitionists rejoiced, and declared that they were happy to be free from the union with the slaveholders. The President of the United States, James Buchanan, though he regarded the action of the seceded states as illegal, lamely announced that he had no power to compel them by force to remain in the Union. General Scott, commander of the Army of the United States, while he felt that secession was deplorable, said that the "erring states" should be permitted to go their way unmolested. Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, openly expressed the opinion that the Southern states had a perfect right to form a union of their own.

The Proposed "Crittenden Compromise." — The more moderate men on both sides, particularly the leaders from what were known as the "border states" between the North and the far South, condemned secession in strong terms and sought to arrange a compromise. Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, proposed in Congress an amendment to the Constitution, providing:

(1) that the territory north of 36° 30′ should be free, and all south of that line, slave;

(2) that all states thereafter admitted to the Union should be permitted to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery;

(3) that the United States should pay slave owners for any slaves that escaped to the North.

Senator Crittenden's plan was rejected by the Republican leaders. With the approval of Lincoln they agreed upon a thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, providing that no amendment should ever be made authorizing Congress to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the states of the Union. Congress passed it by the necessary two-thirds vote, and it was awaiting the approval of the states when the clash of arms came. If it had been adopted, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, instead of abolishing slavery throughout the United States, would have made it perpetual in the states where it existed, unless these states themselves did away with it.

The Leaders on Both Sides Stand Firm. — Prominent leaders on both sides refused to listen to compromise. Jefferson Davis declared that Lincoln, by his attacks on slavery, had in effect declared war upon Southern institutions, and that a conflict between the two sections of the country was inevitable. He expressed the hope that they might part in peace, but quickly added that if the North did not accept secession, then the Southern people " will invoke the God of our fathers . . . and putting our trust in God and in our own firm hearts and strong arms will vindicate the right as best we may." Lincoln, on his part, replied that " both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish." The states of the far South would not remain in the Union except upon their own terms, and the Republican leaders would neither accept their terms nor allow them to go in peace from the Union.

Lincoln's First Inaugural Address. — In his inaugural address of March 4, 1861, Lincoln declared that (1) the Union was older than the Constitution and independence; (2) that it was intended to be perpetual; (3) that the states were pledged to maintain it; and (4) that no state merely on its own motion had the right to withdraw from it. He added that he would, to the extent of his ability, enforce the federal laws in all the states; and that he would defend and maintain the Union. He closed his memorable address by saying to the South:

> In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. *You* can have no conflict without being yourselves

the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one "to preserve, protect, and defend it." I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Fort Sumter Surrendered (April 14, 1861). — As the inaugural address showed, Lincoln was determined to maintain the Union. Still, hoping for a peaceful solution of the problem, he took no strong measures immediately, and many Southern leaders thought that the people of the North would not fight. Indeed, President Davis said that they would not. The dispute in words might have gone on indefinitely, if the government at Washington had not attempted to furnish food supplies to United States troops occupying one of the regular government posts, Fort Sumter, on an island in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. In April, 1861, President Lincoln prepared to send relief. He informed the governor of South Carolina that he had decided to dispatch aid to the virtually imprisoned federal officers at Fort Sumter. The Confederates regarded this as an act of war, and their gunners in the Charleston forts, on April 12, 1861, began to bombard Fort Sumter. Two days later the federal commander, Major Anderson, was compelled to surrender. On April 15, President Lincoln issued his memorable proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers. How little did the country realize the seriousness of the struggle thus begun!

Other Southern States Secede. — When the first shot was fired, those who had been slow to make up their minds were compelled to take sides. In the South, the middle tier of states, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, broke from the Union and joined the Confederacy. In all these states, however, the citizens were divided, and it required the most determined action on the part of the leaders, especially in North Carolina and Virginia, to carry them out of the Union. In the western part of Virginia the Union sentiment was so strong that several counties were altogether opposed to secession. Two years later they and a number of additional counties were cut away from the Old Dominion, and admitted to the Union as the state of West Virginia. By dint of hard labor also, the northern tier of Southern states, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri,[1] was kept within the Union, although thousands of their citizens desired to join the Confederacy, and either went over to the Southern armies, or waged war on their Unionist neighbors at home.

II. Preparations for War

The Advantages of the South.—At the outset of the struggle the Southern states had certain advantages. They had been actively preparing for war for months before the inauguration of Lincoln, and had taken possession of the federal forts and arsenals within their borders. Their statesmen had controlled the national government for several years and had not built up its armed forces. In addition to men and supplies, the South had able and devoted generals, like Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston, who had been well trained at West Point. They felt bound by allegiance to their native states to place themselves at the service of the Confederacy. In the control of an aristocracy, brave and dashing, the Southern states were a foe that had to be taken seriously.

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[1] In Missouri there was an especially severe contest. The government was in the hands of men who favored secession and who attempted to turn the state over to the Southern side. By the efforts of the Union men, led by Francis P. Blair and General Lyon, the state government was overthrown. While the majority favored the Union, there was a strong Southern minority, and several months of fighting followed.

The Advantages of the North. — The North, on the other hand, had many things in its favor. The total population of the country was about 31,000,000 in round numbers. A little more than 22,000,000 lived in the Northern states; of the Southern population, more than 3,500,000 were slaves. The white males of the South, of all ages, numbered less than 3,000,000; before the war was brought to an end the North had put almost as many soldiers in the field. Nearly all the manufacturing establishments in the country, particularly the iron, steel, and munitions plants, were in the North. The South was consequently under the necessity of securing a very large portion of her military supplies from England.

The wealth of the North was many times greater than that of the South, and the federal government was better able to borrow money to carry on the war. The Southern people depended for money largely upon the sale of their cotton crop in the North and in Europe. The North was soon able to ruin the export and import trade of the Confederate States by blockading all the coast and capturing vessels that attempted to enter or clear from the harbors. As a result of this blockade, the amount of cotton exported fell from $202,000,000 in 1860 to $42,000,000 in 1861, and to $4,000,000 in 1862. Having the weight of men and money and material resources on her side, the North was bound to win, unless the South could strike terror into the country by a series of quick and brilliant victories.

Confidence of Victory on Both Sides. — Each side, thinking of its strength, rather than its weakness, began the war in high confidence. President Davis evidently thought it would be only a short time before the victorious Southern army would be in the very heart of the North. President Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand men to serve three months seemed to imply that the Northern government, too, believed in its own early triumph. Both sides were deceived in their hopes and were soon awake to the seriousness of the task before them. The first blood was shed on April 19, 1861, when some soldiers of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment were attacked in Baltimore and several men were killed and wounded. Not until four years later — April 9, 1865 — did the Confederate army under General Lee lay down its arms at Appomattox.

The Volunteer System Gives Way to Conscription. — When the war began, both sides relied on volunteers to do the fighting. Before long they had to resort to drafting soldiers into their armies. In the South practically every able-bodied white male capable of bearing arms was in time drawn into the war. In the North, where more men were available, drafting by lot left a much larger proportion at home. Under the federal conscription law of 1863 it was provided by the government that each state should furnish a certain number of soldiers, and it was then decided by lot who should go. This drafting of soldiers was resisted in New York, where riots broke out and many people were killed. A bad feature of the law was the provision that any one who was drawn by lot could escape military service by paying $300 for a "substitute." In this way, the well-to-do could avoid military service, and the poor man who could not raise that amount of money had to go whether he liked it or not.

War Plans of the North. — It is impossible here to describe all the important battles and engagements of the long war, and merely to enumerate them in their order would only lead to confusion in the mind of the reader. Moreover, they were all fought in some relation to one another and to larger plans which the authorities on both sides had in mind, and must be considered in that connection. The important features of Northern policy may be briefly stated:

1. Saving the border states to the Union through early occupation by federal troops.
2. Splitting the Confederacy into two parts by a drive down the Mississippi Valley.
3. Cutting off the supplies obtained by the Confederacy in Europe by the establishment of a naval blockade of Southern ports.
4. A blow at the heart of the Confederacy by the capture of the capital, Richmond, Virginia.

If we consider these movements in order of time and with relation to geography, it helps the memory to divide them as follows:

- The Campaigns of 1861 and 1862
  - *a.* Saving the Border States
  - *b.* The Eastern Campaigns
  - *c.* The Western Campaigns
- The Emancipation Proclamation (Jan. 1, 1863)
- The War on Water
- The Campaigns of 1863
  - *a.* The Eastern Campaigns
  - *b.* The Western Campaigns
- The Campaigns of 1864 and 1865

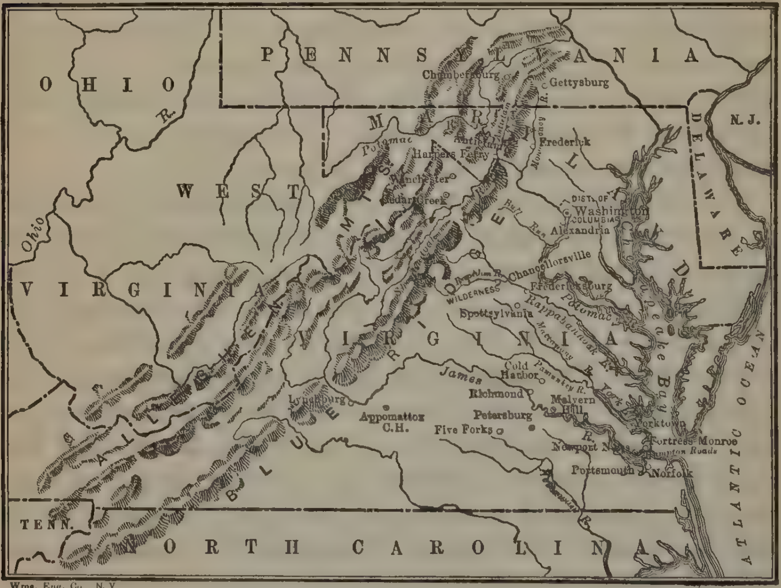
III. The Campaigns of 1861 and 1862

Early Union Reverses in the East. *The Battle of Bull Run (July 21, 1861).* — In the East the Confederates were especially well prepared. They established their capital at Richmond, Virginia, and mobilized in that state strong armies of disciplined soldiers commanded by able officers. They formed a solid defensive front for the seceded states, and were, besides, a constant menace to the capital of the Union.

President Lincoln realized the grave danger; but swift action to avert it was impossible. The regular army of the United States, after the withdrawal of the Southern states, was only a handful. The call for volunteers was enthusiastically answered throughout the North and by midsummer nearly 200,000 loyal men were under arms. To pit these raw and untrained troops at once against the armies in Virginia was to invite disaster, and yet all the time the country was clamoring for immediate action. "On to Richmond!" was flung out on banners and cried in the streets.

The clamor could not be resisted, and General McDowell, in command of federal troops, was ordered to attack the Southern general, Beauregard, stationed in northern Virginia. Prophecies of cautious military men were more than fulfilled. On the field of Bull Run, less than a day's horseback ride southwest of Washington, the untrained federal army, after fighting bravely for many hours, crumpled up and was driven from the field in utter rout. It was in this battle that the Confederate general, Thomas J. Jackson, stood out so bravely against the assaults of the Union troops that he won for himself the title of "Stonewall" by which he was ever afterwards known.

McClellan's Unsuccessful Campaign. — After this disastrous defeat the North began to realize better what a formidable task lay before it. General McClellan, in command of the Union troops protecting Washington, set about drilling his soldiers and properly equipping his army for great campaigns. It was not until the spring of 1862 that he was ready for action, and even then he was so cautious that he was severely criticized on every hand for delays and slow movements. However, in May, 1862, his army was within a few miles of Richmond and it looked as if victory might be at hand. But in the battle of Seven Days (June 26–July 2, 1862) McClellan was forced back, and all hope of the immediate capture of Richmond had to be abandoned. A little later in that year the Union troops, under General Pope, were again beaten at a second battle of Bull Run and driven back toward Washington.



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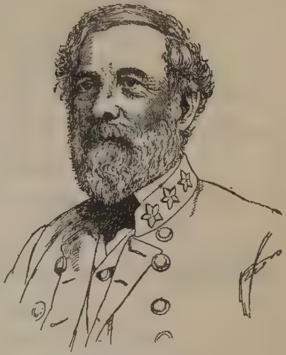
Field of Many of the Battles of the War

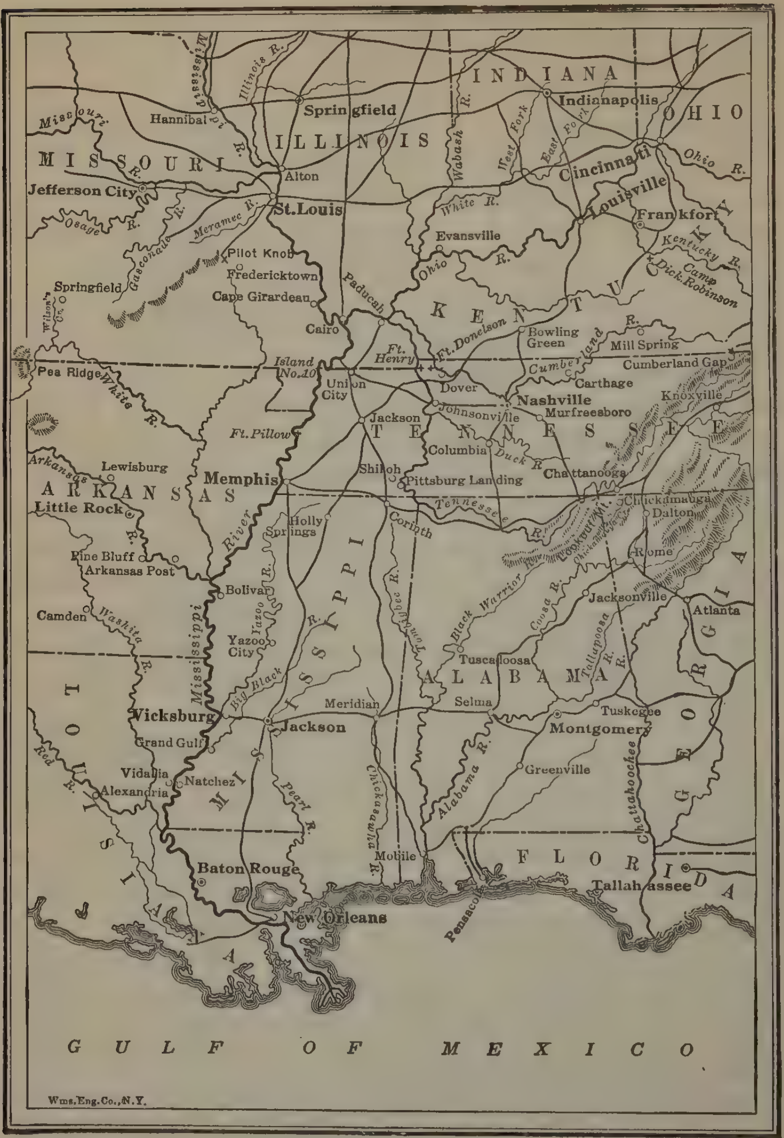
Lee Invades Maryland (1862). *Antietam and Fredericksburg.*—The spirit of the Southern troops was now at a high point and General Lee boldly invaded Maryland. In September, 1862, McClellan with much larger forces attacked Lee's army, and in the battle of Antietam gained an advantage which was regarded in the North as a victory, although he lost more men than the Confederates. General Lee viewed it as a drawn battle, but retreated into Virginia to reorganize. Had General McClellan acted with more zeal he might have inflicted a real defeat on the Southern troops. Such at least was the view taken by the authorities at Washington, and he was removed from his command.


Robert E. Lee

His successor, General Burnside, was even less fortunate. In the battle of Fredericksburg, in December, 1862, he was badly defeated in an attempt to storm General Lee's fortified posts on Marye's Heights behind the town of Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock River. Having needlessly sacrificed thousands of brave soldiers, Burnside gave up his post in despair and General Joseph Hooker was placed at the head of the Army of the Potomac. At the close of the year 1862, everything looked discouraging for the Union in the eastern theater of the war.

Union Successes in the West. *Forts Henry and Donelson Captured.*—In the West the Northern armies were more successful. In that section there were two generals of undoubted talent, Ulysses Simpson Grant, a graduate of West Point, who had seen real fighting in the Mexican War, and George H. Thomas. By the opening of 1862, these commanders had made sure that Kentucky was safely held for the Union. In February, 1862, General Grant, aided by Commodore Foote in charge of a fleet of gunboats, captured two Confederate strongholds, Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Thus the way was opened for a drive southward through Tennessee.

The Struggle for Missouri and Arkansas.—In Missouri strong forces had been raised on both sides. The Confederates under General Price, reënforced by Arkansas troops,



THE WAR IN THE WEST

defeated the Unionists under General Lyon at Wilson's Creek in August, 1861. Southern Missouri was recovered to the Union a few months later, however, and the Confederate army was pushed southward into Arkansas. The Union victory at Pea Ridge (March, 1862) practically decided the war west of the Mississippi.

Farragut Captures New Orleans. Battles of Shiloh and Murfreesboro. — In April, 1862, the North was thrilled by the news that Admiral Farragut had steamed into the Mississippi, bombarded the forts at the mouth of the river, destroyed the Confederate fleet, and captured the city of New Orleans. A month later, by a series of desperate actions, including battles at Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, and Murfreesboro, Union troops in the West had driven their battle line down to the northern borders of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, to the east of the Mississippi River. West of the river the battle line had moved down almost to the Arkansas River before the close of 1862.

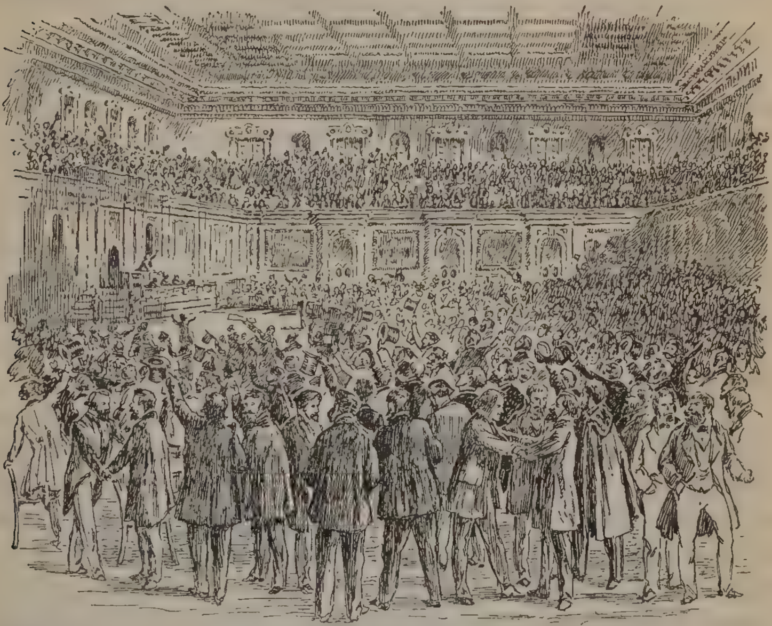
IV. EMANCIPATION

A Bold Blow at Southern Power. — In spite of the western successes and the belief that the Army of the Potomac would be able to hold the Confederate Army of Virginia, it was plain to all, at the end of twelve months' fighting, that a great struggle lay before the government of the United States, if it was to be victorious. The North was full of Southern sympathizers, "Copperheads," they were called, who urged peace at any price; and in every section there were faint-hearted loyalists who looked upon the war as a failure or at best a deadlock.

In the summer of 1862, it was evident that something heroic was necessary to reassure the faith of the North, to baptize the people with a new fire, and to deliver a more telling blow at Southern strength. Then it was that diplomacy was added to military strategy. The true source of Southern power was the devotion of the slaves who tilled the soil, kept order at home, and supplied the armies in the field. To strike at slavery was to strike at the very heart of Southern military strength. It was more than that. To abolish it was to make the war for Union, a lofty ideal in itself, still more appealing to the hearts of men and women in the North by enlarging it into a war for freedom.

Lincoln Decides on Emancipation. — It required courage and faith to take the step. Idealists had long urged it upon Lincoln; military commanders in need of laborers and soldiers had demanded it; but he had held back. Not until he became convinced that it was a military measure necessary to the salvation of the Union did he yield to the insistent demands of the friends of abolition. In the autumn of 1862, he "vowed to God" that if General McClellan was victorious over the army of Virginia at the battle of Antietam, he would issue a proclamation of emancipation. Although McClellan did not win a glorious victory, his success was regarded as a distinct gain for the North. The danger that the Army of Virginia might strike a mortal blow at the National Capital and invade the heart of the North seemed averted. On September 22, 1862, therefore, Lincoln announced that if the Confederate States did not come back into the Union before January 1, 1863, he would proclaim the slaves within those states forever free. The Confederacy regarded this as an idle threat. But on January 1, 1863, Lincoln, exercising his war power as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, issued the Proclamation of Emancipation, freeing all the slaves within the territory then held by the Confederate army.

Emancipation and Abolition. — Inasmuch as the Emancipation Proclamation is commonly misunderstood, attention should be called to two special points. (1) The proclamation did not *abolish* slavery; it merely emancipated or freed the slaves in that part of the country waging war against the government of the United States. Slavery continued to exist after the proclamation in those slave states which had not seceded, namely, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and also in Tennessee and those parts of Louisiana and Virginia occupied by the Union army. (2) It was not certain whether this emancipation of the slaves could be sustained after the war was over, because Lincoln had no civil authority over slavery. As Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States, he could do almost anything that would

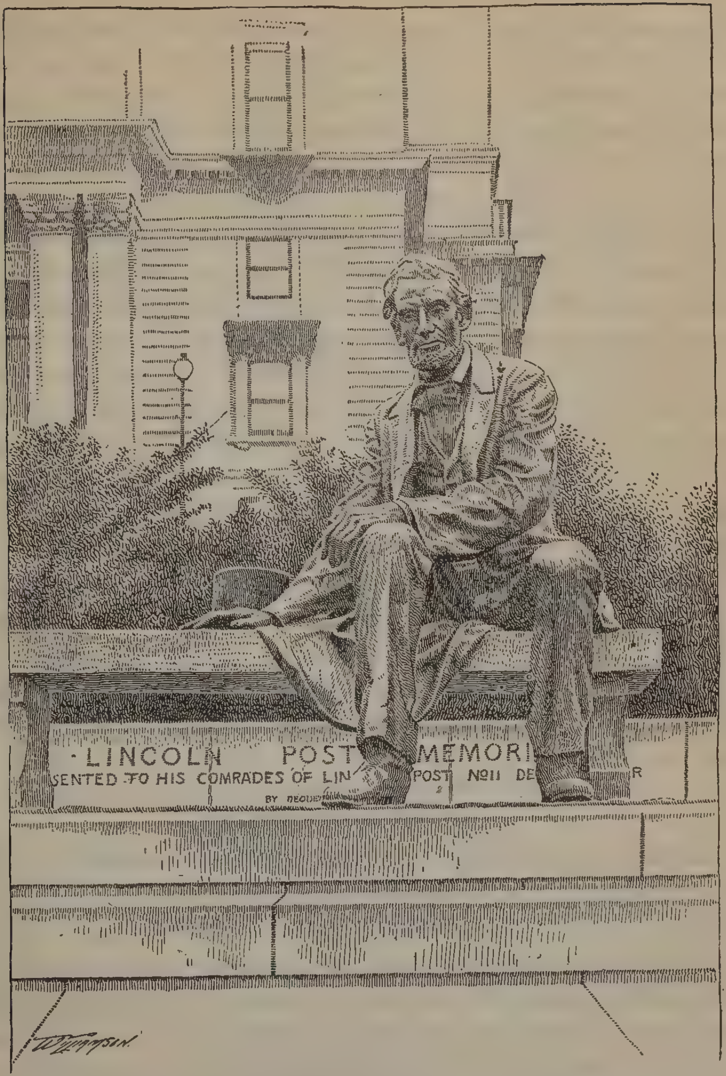


Scene in Congress at the Time of the Passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution help the Northern cause. Naturally this great power would be curtailed when the armed conflict was closed. Some claimed, therefore, that emancipation could last only during the period of actual warfare. To seal it for all time, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted in 1865, abolishing slavery throughout the United States.

The Effect of Emancipation Abroad. — Emancipation gave a new aspect to the war. It stamped it as a war of freedom against bondage. All along, the Northern cause had been viewed with hostility and derision by the aristocracies and upper classes of Europe. It is estimated that "four fifths of the British House of Lords and most members of the House of Commons" were in sympathy with the South and anxious to see the Union broken up as a "republican failure." Only a few great English leaders, like John Bright, ardently gave their hearts to Lincoln and the North.

With the English common people it was different. Although driven to the verge of starvation by the closing of the cotton mills, they felt that the North was right and should triumph. After emancipation they were even more fixed in this view, and their anti-slavery sentiment was largely responsible for blocking intervention by the British government in favor of the Confederacy. More than once the French emperor, Napoleon III, had suggested interference in America, but the British authorities postponed action. Napoleon then had the effrontery to suggest it directly to the government at Washington, only to be instantly rebuffed. He realized that he could not accomplish the result alone, and, when British coöperation was not forthcoming, he gave up trying to aid the South in destroying the Union.

Lincoln. — Never had mortal man greater burdens to carry or more trying problems to solve than Lincoln. He


LINCOLN POST MEMORI
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Abraham Lincoln

From a photograph of Borglum's statue of Abraham Lincoln in Newark.

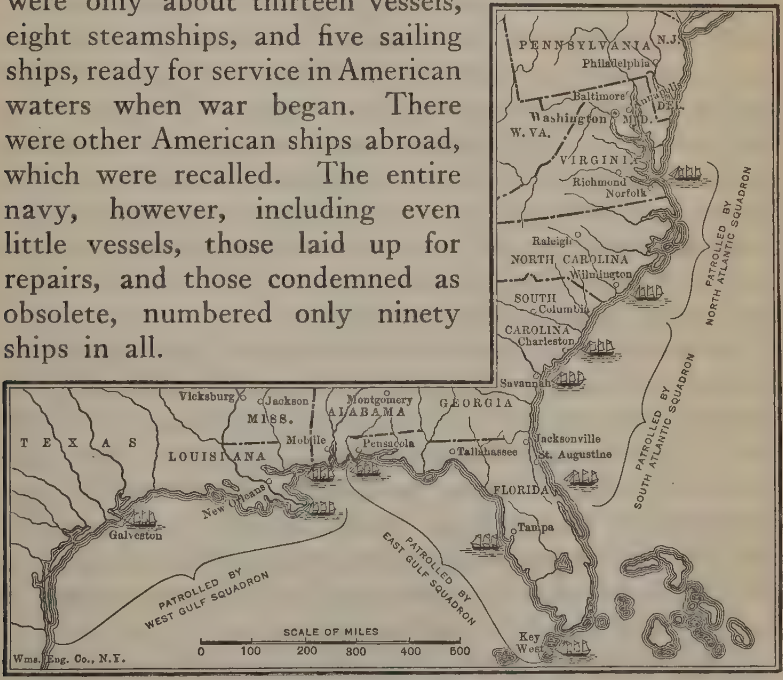
had behind him a divided country. Thousands of Northern people, in open sympathy with the South, did everything they could to hamper the raising of men and money and the successful prosecution of the war. Another large group, though loyal to the Union, was horrified by the disasters and the misery of war and ready on every occasion to urge peace at any price. So strong was the opposition that the Democrats, in 1864, with General McClellan as their candidate for President, were able to poll in the Union states alone 1,800,000 votes, although "the Great Emancipator" was reëlected by a safe majority.

Republican politicians nearly drove Lincoln frantic in their efforts to get "jobs" in the government for their constituents. Democrats accused him of prolonging the war in order to satisfy the munition makers and contractors who made profits out of supplies. Friends of army officers daily besieged him for promotions and favors. Mothers and fathers whose sons were sentenced to be shot for desertion or neglect of duty beset him at every turn with petitions for pardon. With simplicity of heart, toleration, infinite patience, and good nature, he endured it all, trying always to do the right as it was given him to see it.

V. The War on Water

The Control of the Sea the Key to Union Success. — The chief reliance of the South before the war was, as we have said, on its cotton. In 1860 Southern plantations produced 4,700,000 bales of cotton, a very large portion of which was sold in England. If the seas could have been kept open and the millions of bales exchanged for munitions and other supplies, the power of the South would have been more than doubled. In view of the fact that the conflict was waged on Southern soil and that the men and equipment of the Union army had to be transported far from the Northern bases, it is certain that the South, if adequately supported by guns, food, and money, could have made the conflict infinitely more desperate, perhaps so desperate that the outcome would have been far different.

Weakness of the Navy at the Outset of the War. — It was in cutting the sources of Southern supplies that the navy of the United States did its great work, and if it had been stronger at the outbreak of the war it might have reduced the struggle by many months. It is estimated that there were only about thirteen vessels, eight steamships, and five sailing ships, ready for service in American waters when war began. There were other American ships abroad, which were recalled. The entire navy, however, including even little vessels, those laid up for repairs, and those condemned as obsolete, numbered only ninety ships in all.



THE BLOCKADE OF THE SOUTHERN COAST TO CUT OFF TRADE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE SOUTH

The Blockade. — With this mere handful of vessels President Lincoln determined to cut off all trade between Europe and the South. Early in 1861 he declared the coast from Virginia all the way to Texas blockaded; and he ordered warships scattered along this stretch of seashore, particularly at seaports, for the purpose of stopping and capturing all ships that attempted to go in or out of Southern harbors, whether they were Confederate ships or English ships or those of any other foreign country.

The "Blockade Runners." — At first much cotton was smuggled out through the blockade and great supplies of munitions were smuggled in. In England and in the South many swift steamships, called "blockade runners," were built for the purpose of eluding the United States warships stationed off the coasts. On dark nights or when storms were raging, these "runners," heavily laden with cotton or supplies, would dash into or out of the closed ports, escaping the warships sent to capture them. As the Union navy increased in size, the net drawn around the Southern seacoast grew tighter and tighter, until at last the "blockade runners" took such desperate chances that the business ceased to be profitable.

Success of the Blockade. — It is estimated that during the blockade more than 15,000 ships were captured. In the closing year of the war the South was able to deliver only a few thousand bales in foreign markets. War supplies from abroad were practically cut off, and it was impossible to borrow more money abroad. For instance, in 1863 the Southern government negotiated a loan of $150,000,000 abroad, agreeing to redeem the bonds in cotton, but it could not deliver the cotton.

Even if money could have been procured in sufficient quantities abroad, it would have done the South little good, because it needed not gold and silver but the supplies which gold and silver could buy. As a Southern leader said, the South was not defeated but "choked to death."

The work of the blockaders out at sea did not excite much attention in the country. There were no opportunities to make great naval heroes out of those watchers, but they kept at their posts day and night, winter and summer, in stormy and pleasant weather. Upon the ceaseless vigilance of the sailors, as well as the valor of the soldiers, the success of the North depended.

Attacks on Northern Commerce. — Although blockaded, the South was able to keep a few warships and privateers at sea, preying on Northern commerce. At the outbreak of the war, American merchant vessels were trading with every port in the world, and as the war went on, of course this trade increased. Seeing its own commerce destroyed, the South sought to capture and burn Northern merchantmen wherever they could be found. One of the Southern destroyers escaped from the mouth of the Mississippi in the summer of 1861, and managed to spread ruin at sea for several months. In the pursuit and capture or destruction of these ships, Northern cruisers had to fight many battles.

The Alabama. — Other sea rovers were built and equipped in English ports with the connivance or toleration of the English government in violation of international law. One of these, the *Alabama*, was built at Liverpool, and for two years cruised the ocean, destroying two or three merchant vessels every month. She was at last caught, in June, 1864, and sent to the bottom of the English Channel by the warship *Kearsarge.* England, as we shall see, was compelled to pay heavily for some of the losses inflicted on American ships by the raiders fitted out in her ports.[1]

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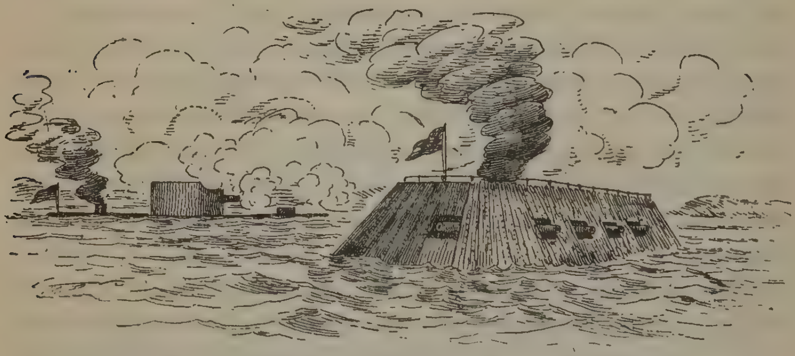
[1] In 1861 a Union vessel overhauled the British ship *Trent* and seized two commissioners of the Confederate government, Mason and Slidell, who were bound for England. This high-handed action, which savored of British conduct before the War of 1812, was the subject of a vigorous protest on the part of Great Britain. The government at Washington promptly acknowledged that it was in the wrong and permitted the two commissioners to proceed to England. Thus the "Trent Affair" was settled.

The Merrimac and the Monitor (1862). — In addition to blockading the coast and capturing ships preying on Northern commerce, the navy of the United States had to meet a new kind of foe. The Confederates in Portsmouth, Virginia, transformed a steamer known as the *Merrimac* into an ironclad ram which played havoc with the old wooden warships, such as the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*. Unless a new type of ship could be devised this iron monster and others like it might sweep the blockading ships from the seas.



BATTLE BETWEEN THE *Monitor* AND THE *Merrimac*, THE FIRST BATTLE BETWEEN IRON-CLAD SHIPS

Northern ingenuity was equal to Southern skill. Captain John Ericsson designed and built at New York his famous *Monitor*. This curious vessel had a small iron hull, and on top of the deck was built a round iron turret, carrying two guns, which could be revolved by machinery and so fired in any direction. The Southerners called the boat " a Yankee cheese box on a raft." She was taken down to Hampton Roads in the spring of 1862, just when the *Merrimac* had started on a career of destruction.

On the morning of March 9, the two ironclads fought a desperate battle without coming to a final decision. Blinded temporarily by a shell which struck his watch tower, the commander of the *Monitor* withdrew his ship from the fight and the *Merrimac* steamed back to Norfolk. The Confederates regarded the outcome as a victory, but the career of the *Merrimac* as a commerce destroyer was soon at an end, for the ship was burned when the Confederates evacuated Norfolk a few weeks later. Additional monitors were built for the Northern navy and proved their usefulness.

Gunboats on Western Rivers. — Other important services rendered by the navy included the destruction of Fort Henry on the Tennessee by Commodore Foote; the capture of New Orleans by Admiral Farragut; the coöperation of Admiral Farragut and Admiral Porter in the opening of the Mississippi River; and the seizure of several forts and posts along the coast.

VI. The Campaigns of 1863

New Disasters in the East. *Chancellorsville.* — After the Proclamation of Emancipation, the war in the East and the West entered upon new and important phases. In the East, the Union armies were still unfortunate. In May, 1863, General Hooker was attacked at Chancellorsville and badly beaten by General Lee. The only bitterness in the Confederate cup of joy was the loss of Stonewall Jackson, who was wounded in the battle and died shortly afterward. The North was sick at heart when, in spite of the strict military censorship, the news of the defeat slowly filtered through. Lincoln was on the verge of despair.

Lee Invades the North. — Then came the great terror — invasion. After the victory at Chancellorsville, the Confederate government, with high confidence, determined to win the war by a bold stroke. It sent Lee, at the head of a powerful army of disciplined men, down the Shenandoah Valley, across the Potomac, into Pennsylvania. Jefferson Davis had threatened to carry the war into the very heart of the North; now he was fulfilling his threat. By the end of June, Lee's advance guard was only four miles from Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, well within the rear of Baltimore and Washington. In Philadelphia business was paralyzed and hurried preparations were made for the defense of the city. All the North trembled with anxiety. Lincoln, beset by urgent appeals from every section, relieved General Hooker, who had lost Chancellorsville, and placed in command General Meade, who had served with courage and distinction in Potomac campaigns.

General Lee on His Famous Horse, Traveler

Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863.—On July 1, the opposing armies stood face to face at the little village of Gettysburg, Lee with 70,000 men and Meade with 90,000. For three long days they fought. On the first and second days the balance seemed to incline to the Southern side.

Pickett's Famous Charge. — Convinced that victory was within his grasp, Lee, on the afternoon of the third day, ordered a grand advance. Under a blue sky, with a July sun beating down upon them in full splendor, Pickett's troops, fifteen thousand strong, chosen for the work, rose majestically over the crest behind which they were posted, descended the slopes, and in clear view of the enemy swung to the attack across the valley. Far in front on Cemetery Ridge the Union soldiers lay quietly awaiting the coming storm, while the cannon behind poured a sweeping hail of shell and canister into Pickett's men, cutting them down like grain before a sickle. On they came. In a little while sheets of flame leaped from Union rifles, adding to the havoc wrought by the artillery. Still they came, closing up their thinning ranks, until with one mighty rush the men in front were flung high upon the Union ramparts, as the spray is dashed upon a rockbound coast when a wave breaks. For a brief instant the Stars and Bars were planted in the heart of the enemy by Pickett's men, but they could not hold. Assaulted on every side, they broke, and the shattered remnants of the proud command were driven back upon their old lines.

The Victory. — The day was done. Nearly forty thousand men lay dead or wounded. The "high tide of the war" had touched the Northern fields and set out to sea never to return. Nothing was left for Lee but retreat, and had Meade been able to seize the opportunity to press the Southern forces to the utmost, he might have ended the war. But his own army was worn out and he delayed. Lincoln was sorely disappointed, and yet he was grateful to Meade for the work he had done. The North now turned again to the unfinished task, taking from the honored dead who fell at Gettysburg, "increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

Vicksburg Surrendered. *The Mississippi Open to the Sea.* — While the North was rejoicing over the glorious victory at Gettysburg, the news of another Union triumph, the fall of Vicksburg on the Mississippi, was announced. On July 4 — "the best Fourth since 1776," as General Sherman wrote — the Confederate commander at that post, General Pemberton, was forced to surrender to General Grant, after a memorable siege.

Life in Cellars and Caves during the Siege of Vicksburg

The suffering in the beleaguered city had been horrible beyond measure. For weeks the inhabitants had lived in cellars and caves. Their food supply had steadily diminished until they were driven to the necessity of eating the flesh of horses and mules. Day and night were hideous with the thunder of artillery and the noise of bursting shells and exploding mines. The "brazen glories of war" were submerged in misery, starvation, filth, and loathsome horror. The Confederate general was simply forced to surrender by the distress of the soldiers and the people.

A few days after the surrender of Vicksburg, Port Hudson, below Vicksburg, was yielded to the Union forces, and the Confederacy, thanks to the coöperation of the federal army and gun boats, was cut in twain. On July 16 a steamer from St. Louis landed a cargo at New Orleans, and as Lincoln phrased it, "the Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

Farragut Commanding from the Rigging of His Flagship, *Hartford*, at the Opening of the Mississippi

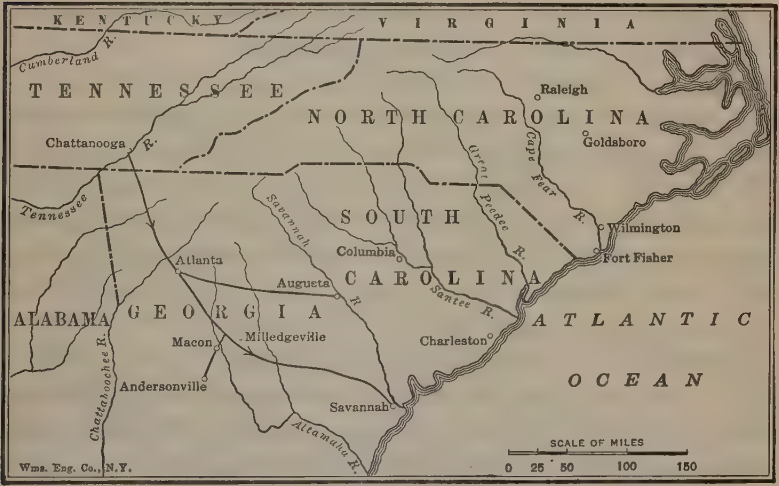
Chickamauga and Chattanooga. — After Gettysburg and Vicksburg the federal government urged General Rosecrans to begin a drive on the Confederates in Tennessee. He started out with great promise. Then, on September 19, 1863, he was attacked by strong Southern forces under General Bragg, and the following day "the great battle of the West," the terrible and bloody Chickamauga, was fought. Rosecrans was defeated and his own wing driven back to Chattanooga in a rout. Nothing but the desperate courage of General Thomas and his men on another wing prevented a complete disaster to the Union arms. General Grant was then placed in complete charge in that section.

In a few weeks followed battles at Lookout Mountain — "above the clouds," — and Missionary Ridge, near Chattanooga, which resulted in driving the Confederate forces out of Tennessee into northern Georgia. By the end of 1863 the battle line had been forced down into Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.

General Grant and His Officers. Grant in the Foreground Examining a Map over General Meade's Shoulder

VII. The Campaigns of 1864 and 1865; the End of the War

Grant Placed in Command of All Union Armies (1864). — Only two important Confederate armies remained, one under General Lee defending Richmond, and the other in the northern part of Georgia under General Joseph E. Johnston. Early in the spring of the following year (1864), General Grant was called from the West, and made Lieutenant-general of all the armies of the United States, with orders to capture Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, and destroy Lee's army of Virginia. In the West, General Sherman was instructed to attack General Johnston and drive his way through Georgia.



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA

Sherman's Campaign. *Atlanta and the March to the Sea.* — Starting from Chattanooga, General Sherman set out on his famous expedition. The Confederate general slowly retired, with a view to wearing Sherman's army out and attacking it later when the odds against him were not so great. President Davis, annoyed at Johnston for his delays, removed him, and placed General Hood in charge, with orders to attack Sherman. This was a fatal error, for Sherman beat off General Hood's heroic assaults at Atlanta, and with a large division of his army started on the famous march "from Atlanta to the sea," destroying bridges and railroads and property along a belt sixty miles wide. On Christmas Eve, 1864, President Lincoln, to his surprise, received a telegram from General Sherman presenting him as a "Christmas gift the City of Savannah with one hundred fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition; also about 25,000 bales of cotton." Some of the Union soldiers, on the march to the sea, needlessly pillaged residences and wrecked public and private buildings, creating a very bitter feeling in the hearts of the Southern people.

Grant in Virginia. *The Wilderness and Cold Harbor.* — Meanwhile General Grant had been doggedly wrestling with the task assigned to him. Although Lee's Army of Virginia was only about half the size of his own forces, General Grant had no easy problem before him. He was fighting in the enemy's country; Lee's troops were familiar with every highway and byway, and were strongly intrenched at important points.

Realizing the gravity of the situation, Grant, in May, 1864, crossed the Rapidan River and began to make his way through forests thickset with underbrush. Here he was severely attacked by the Southern army, and for four days the terrible battle of "the Wilderness" raged. The Union losses were frightful, but Grant managed to withdraw his forces. By a skillful march to the left, he pushed on to Spottsylvania Court House, and then down to Cold Harbor which was a part of the defenses of the City of Richmond. Here the desperate fighting went on without any marked gains for the Northern army. In the month's struggle from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, Lee lost 19,000 men and Grant nearly three times as many.

General Grant believed that victory would come with the wearing down of the Southern army. He had twice as many men as the Confederates, he had unlimited supplies behind him, and he knew that he could win in time, even if at a great cost. General Lee's losses were evidently heavy; and he could ill afford them, because the Confederacy behind him was exhausted and could not furnish more troops. The blockade was growing tighter every day. The end seemed to be only a matter of time.

Early's Raid Checked by Sheridan. — Remembering that he had beaten off the Army of the Potomac two years before by threatening Washington, Lee ordered General Early with a large force to march rapidly through the Shenandoah Valley and to attack the capital. General Grant, fortunately, had troops to spare. Instead of giving up his attack on Lee's main army, he sent a division under General Sheridan to cope with Early. Sheridan defeated Early at the battle of Winchester, and swooped down the valley, destroying everything in front of him until, as it was said at the time, a crow passing over the region had to carry his rations with him.

The news of General Early's defeat at Winchester on October 18, 1864, was received with great satisfaction by General Grant, for he knew now that the Confederacy had struck its last dangerous blow. With General Sherman in possession of Savannah and all of the Southwest cut off by him, no supplies could reach Lee from that quarter; it was inevitable that the Army of Virginia must soon surrender. Being in a desperate plight, the leaders of the Confederacy tried to make terms with President Lincoln. In November, 1864, Vice President Stephens met President Lincoln and Seward, the Secretary of State, on board a warship in Hampton Roads to discuss terms of peace. Lincoln called for the disbanding of the Southern armies, the submission of the seceded States to the Union, and the abolition of slavery. Rather than make these concessions, the Confederate government decided to go on with the war.

Lee Surrenders at Appomattox (April 9, 1865). — The North then prepared for the final blow, and General Grant began to close in on the Southern troops around Richmond. On April 3, 1865, Lee, having come to the conclusion that he could no longer safely defend the capital of the Confederacy, withdrew in a southwesterly direction. On April 9, General Grant overtook him at Appomattox Court House and compelled him to surrender unconditionally. In his hour of triumph, Grant was generous to the vanquished. He did not require Lee to surrender his sword, and he permitted the officers and men to keep their horses, because, as he said, they would need them in their farm work. After the Confederate officers and men had given their word not to take up arms against the United States again, they were given a goodly supply of rations and allowed to go home. A few days later, the other important Southern army under General Johnston surrendered to General Sherman in North Carolina. The war was over.

The Assassination of Lincoln (April 14, 1865). — It may well be imagined with what joy the news of Lee's surrender was received throughout the entire North. The long war was at an end; the country, torn by hatred and distracted by sorrow for so many weary years, could be at peace. The Union was preserved. Instead of two nations side by side, armed to the teeth and enemies at heart, there was one government. With thanksgiving, the great President turned to the task of reuniting the broken and embittered peoples; but fate had decreed that the work of restoration should be left to other hands. On the evening of April 14, 1865, Lincoln, while sitting in his box at the Ford Theatre in Washington, was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was half-crazed by the defeat of the South. The

President, mortally wounded, was carried across the street to a private house, where, amid his sorrowing family and official friends, he died in the early hours of the next morning.

Like wildfire the news of the tragedy spread across the continent, and the greatest sorrow of the war fell like a pall over the land. It seemed too much to bear. Thousands of brave men and women had sacrificed and suffered in the dragging days and years of the war, and now, in the hour when peace had come, the brave Captain, as the poet Whitman wrote, had "fallen cold and dead." The North had lost its trusted leader, and the South a friend who bore no malice or bitterness in his heart.

FORD'S THEATER, WHERE LINCOLN WAS SHOT ON APRIL 14, 1865

VIII. THE COST OF THE WAR; WOMEN AND THE WAR

Money and Property. — Just what the war cost in men and money cannot be reckoned exactly. The national debt in the summer of 1865 was nearly three billion dollars, most of which had been incurred for war purposes. To this must be added the expenditures of the national government out of national taxes, the money spent by Northern states, cities, and towns, the interest on the debt, and pensions. It has been estimated that the war expenditures of the government for all these purposes, between July 1, 1861, and June 30, 1879, amounted to more than six billion dollars. In addition we must include the millions that have been paid and are still being paid in pensions.

The debt of the Confederate government, on the other hand, was repudiated and never paid. Enormous expenditures amounting to hundreds of millions were made, and property of still greater value was destroyed by invading armies. It would be a safe guess that the total cost of the Civil War in money spent, property destroyed, and wages of men lost, was well over twenty-five billion dollars, a sum equal to more than fifty times the value of all the property in the United States when Washington was inaugurated President.

Human Life. — In human life the cost of the war is still more difficult to estimate. During the conflict, about 2,000,000 men joined the Northern armies for varying services — three months, six months, a year or more. The number in actual service reached its highest point in April, 1865, when it stood at slightly more than one million. Of this great host more than 360,000 lost their lives — 110,000 perished on the battlefield, and about 250,000 died of wounds and diseases. The records of the Confederate armies were not well kept. It is impossible to state even with fair accuracy their losses, but if they were equal to those of the Northern armies the Civil War cost outright in human life 700,000 men. This leaves out of account the crippled and permanently disabled, and those whose lives were shortened many years by the hardships of the camp and battle field.

Women and the War. — In recording the heroic deeds and splendid sacrifices of men on the field of battle, the services of the women of America in the conduct of the war must not be forgotten. All through the farming regions of the Northwest and to some extent in other sections, women took up the lines and plow handles where the men dropped them and for four years assumed responsibility for producing the crops.

A few days after Sumter was fired upon, the leading women of New York met at Cooper Union, under the inspiration of Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler, and organized a relief association. This led to the establishment of the marvelous United States Sanitary Commission, which collected food and supplies for the soldiers, looked after the health of camps, and aided in the care of the sick and wounded. Through sanitary fairs held from the Atlantic to the Pacific, women raised nearly $3,000,000 for relief.

Speaking of their work, Lincoln said:

> I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war.

Thousands of women went to the front as nurses, enduring the horrors and hardships of camp life and battle field. Volumes could be written of their valorous deeds — gathering the wounded amid the storm of battle, serving at plague-stricken posts. They were among the staffs of scouts and spies, in prisons, on the transport ships, wherever suffering and human needs were to be found. Back of the battle lines, women knitted, scraped lint, rolled bandages, and prepared comforts and necessities for the soldiers. In nearly every community there were soldiers' aid societies which held weekly and even daily meetings to raise money, supplies, and comforts for the men at the front.

In the South, burdens borne by the women were even heavier. There a larger proportion of the white men were in the field and the responsibilities of the women were all the greater. They experienced the horrors of war all about them: fields laid waste, homes burned, supplies destroyed, hostile soldiers on every hand, starvation and misery daily, hourly staring them in the face; and yet they failed not. Southern writings are justly filled with tributes to the women for their bravery and their work.

An Army Nurse of 1861

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. What is meant by a "civil" war? Look up the meaning of "secession." At what earlier periods in the country's history had certain of the states threatened to "secede"? 2. Why were some of the influential men of the North opposed to the use of force in bringing the seceded states back into the Union? 3. Can you think of any reasons why President Buchanan should have decided to take no strong measures to prevent the secession of South Carolina? (Remember that South Carolina seceded in December, 1860, while Buchanan was still president.) 4. In what important ways did the Confederate States of America differ from the original union formed in 1789?

II. 1. Compare the relative advantages and disadvantages of the North and the South in 1861 in carrying on a successful war. 2. What and where were the "Border States"? Why did the North make an especially determined effort to keep these in the Union? With what results? (Study carefully on a map the location of these Border States; note how they formed a "buffer" between the free states and the seceded states.) Why should the North have been particularly anxious lest Maryland should go with the South? What especial disadvantage would the North have suffered if Missouri had seceded?

III. 1. Locate Manassas Junction in Virginia (near here the Battle of Bull Run was fought). Note the direction of the railroads that joined at Manassas. Why should the Confederate army have chosen this as the point at which to make a stand against Northern invasion? 2. McClellan was severely criticized in the North for delaying so long in moving his army toward Richmond. Why were the Northerners especially irritated at this delay? Can you think of any reasons that may have caused McClellan to delay in spite of criticism? 3. What was Lee's object in attempting to invade the North in 1862? What was the result of this attempt? 4. From a study of the map, tell why the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson was so important to the Union cause. What would be the advantage to the Union army of controlling the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers? 5. Why was the contest for Missouri and Arkansas important? 6. Why was New Orleans an especially important city for the Union forces to occupy?

IV. 1. What were Lincoln's objects in emancipating the slaves held in the seceded states? 2. Why was this not the same as the "abolition" of slavery? 3. What were some of the great difficulties that Lincoln had to meet in guiding the Nation through the war?

V. 1. What was the object of the Union in blockading the Southern ports? From a study of the coastline of the Southern States point out the difficulties that lay in the way of this policy, and also the conditions that favored the Union navy in carrying out the plan successfully. 2. What was the purpose of the Confederacy in fitting out ships like the *Alabama*? 3. Locate Hampton Roads. Why was it particularly important to the North to control the entrance to Chesapeake Bay? Why was the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* important?

VI. 1. What was Lee's object in his second invasion of the North (1863)? His most advanced outposts reached the banks of the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; locate on the map. 2. Who was appointed to check Lee's invasion? Locate Gettysburg on the map. Why is Gettysburg called the "high-water mark of the Confederacy"? Why is the Battle of Gettysburg listed among the "decisive" battles of the world's history? 3. Locate Vicksburg and tell why its capture was so important to the Union cause.

VII. 1. Describe Grant's plan of campaign for 1864. What were the important differences between Grant's methods and those of his predecessors in charge of the Union armies? 2. Trace on the map (p. 398) the course of Grant's movements against Lee in Virginia. Note the general direction of these movements and the points where the successive battles (the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, and Cold Harbor) were fought. Why has Grant's campaign been called a "great flanking movement"? 3. What did Lee hope to accomplish by Early's raid? Why did his plans fail? 4. Locate the point where Lee surrendered. In view of the fact that Richmond had already fallen into the hands of the Unionists, where, in your opinion, was Lee trying to go when he was forced to surrender?

VIII. 1. Name the important results of the war. Comparing the results with the cost of the war in money, in human life, and in the suffering caused, would you say that the good accomplished was worth the sacrifice? Give reasons for your answer. 2. Describe the services rendered by women during the war.

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Select one of the following topics for study and report:

The Battle of Bull Run: See Hart's "Romance of the Civil War," pp. 287–291; Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln," pp. 225–230.

The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor:* See Hart's "Romance of the Civil War," pp. 357–358; Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 185–195.

The Gettysburg Campaign: See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. ii, ch. v; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 323–327; Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American

History," pp. 227–236; Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln," pp. 372–378.

Lee's Surrender at Appomattox: See Hart's "Source Book," pp. 329–333; Gilman's "Robert E. Lee," ch. xix; Coombs's "Ulysses S. Grant," ch. xix; Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln," pp. 509–515.

2. Select one or more of the following leaders of the Civil War period for study and report:

Ulysses S. Grant: See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 217–228; Hart's "Romance of the Civil War," pp. 179–183 (account of Grant as a cadet at West Point); Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 239–248 (account of the Vicksburg campaign); Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln," pp. 264–269 (Grant at Fort Donelson); Coombs's "Ulysses S. Grant."

Robert E. Lee: See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 229–237; Gilman's "Robert E. Lee."

"Stonewall" Jackson: See Hart's "Romance of the Civil War," pp. 266–269; Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 213–223.

David G. Farragut: See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 238–248; Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 303–322; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 313–315; Hart's "Romance of the Civil War," pp. 362–366.

3. Tell the story of Clara Barton as illustrating the services rendered by women as Civil War nurses.

See Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 252–255; Hart's "Romance of the Civil War," pp. 416–418.

4. Give as many reasons as you can explaining why Lincoln is looked upon as one of the great figures of history.

See Nicolay's "Abraham Lincoln," ch. xxviii; Roosevelt and Lodge's "Hero Tales from American History," pp. 324–335; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 333–335; Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 206–216; Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. ii, pp. 181–182.

CHAPTER XXII

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH

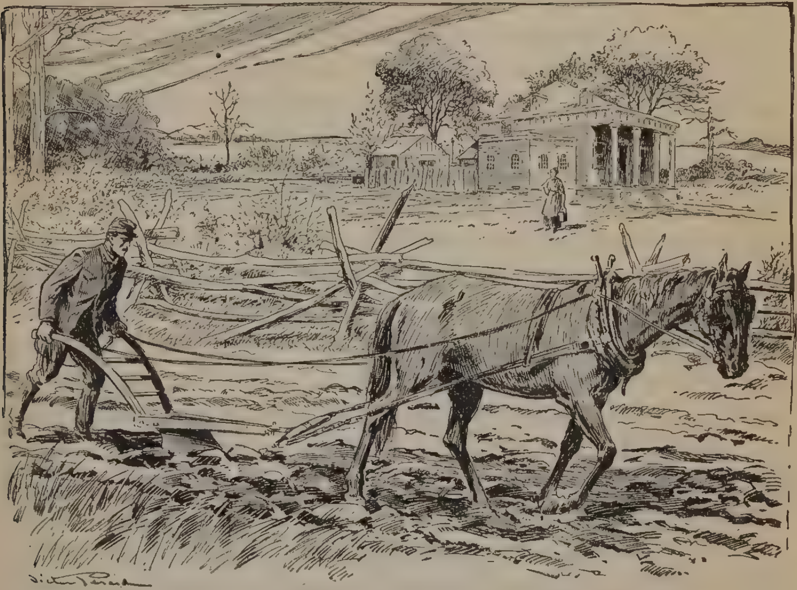
I. PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

The Freedmen. — Though bowed by the sorrows of the Lincoln tragedy, the people of the North rejoiced that at last the specter of slavery had been laid. They turned to their accustomed work in fields and factories as if everything was settled. The more thoughtful in both sections, however, knew that it was one thing to break the chains of the slaves and a far more perplexing thing to find for them a proper place among citizens of the country.

Millions of farm "hands" who had been bought and sold and who had been absolutely at the beck and call of their masters, were now freemen, at liberty to go where they pleased. This was a strange condition of affairs. It had come suddenly, — without warning or preparation. There they stood, poor people, with empty hands and untrained minds, helpless in a world which they did not understand, at a loss which way to turn. The federal government having abolished slavery, could not ignore the fate of the freedman.

The Conquered States. — That was not all. What was to be done with the former Confederate states, and with the leaders of the Confederacy? Should those who had just been in arms against the authority of the nation be restored at once to their old powers and rights as citizens and voters? On these questions there was great difference of opinion.

1. Lincoln had taken a generous view. He held that the Confederate states had never been out of the Union in fact; that they had merely attempted to withdraw and had failed. He thought, therefore, that they should resume their proper places as quickly and as peaceably as possible.


THE SOUTHERN SOLDIER AND HIS HOME AFTER THE WAR

When the Northern armies began to occupy seceded states, he proposed that just as soon as one tenth of the voters in each state would take an oath of loyalty to the Union, they should be permitted to reorganize the state government for themselves. If Lincoln had lived, it might have been possible to settle the troublesome matter this way; but his untimely death put the work of "reconstruction" into other hands.

2. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and other Republican leaders were deter-

mined that generosity should not mark the policy of the government toward the Confederate states. They said that the South had brought on the war and should be punished for wrongdoing. In their view all the details of restoring the Southern states were matters for the federal government to settle. The abolition of slavery throughout the country in 1865 by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was, in their opinion, proof that the relation of freedmen to their former masters was subject to national, not state, control. When Congress met in December, 1865, the Republican leaders refused to admit Senators and Representatives from the Southern states, and undertook to solve the problems of the South in their own way.

The Fourteenth Amendment. — One of their first measures was a law establishing a Freedmen's Bureau, a division of the federal government with offices all through the South, through which aid was to be distributed to the negroes. A second important measure was another amendment to the federal Constitution — the Fourteenth — passed in 1866, ratified by the states, and proclaimed a law two years later.

This amendment provided that all persons born or naturalized in the United States were citizens. All question as to whether the freedmen were bona-fide American citizens was thus removed. The amendment also declared in effect that negroes should not be deprived by the states of their civil rights in any arbitrary or irregular fashion. It excluded from Congress all men who had taken an oath to support the Constitution and then aided in the war against the United States, and it forbade the payment of any of the war debt incurred by the Confederate government or the seceded states.

Negro Suffrage. — Another feature of the Fourteenth Amendment was the provision that, if any state excluded any adult males from the right to vote, its representation in Congress should be reduced. This was designed indirectly to compel the granting of the suffrage to negro men in the South and in those Northern states, like Ohio, which still withheld it. Clever Republican politicians favored this because it meant a huge increase in the vote cast for their party. Other Republicans urged it on different grounds. Sumner, for example, pointed out that all negroes had been given the civil rights enjoyed by the whites, such as the right to go and come, and to buy and sell. Then he declared that the negroes' civil rights were not "worth a rush" without the right to vote for those who made the laws and enforced them, and that the suffrage, therefore, should be conferred on the negro men. He left the women to take care of their civil rights as best they could. Under this amendment the federal government sought to force manhood suffrage, white and black, on the South.

So drastic an amendment would not have secured the approval of three fourths of the states if some of the Southern States had not been forced to ratify it in order to get back into the Union.

Military Rule in the South. — Congress then passed more drastic "Reconstruction acts" designed to settle the political problems of the South. Under these acts all the seceded states, except Tennessee, were laid out into military districts, each governed by a military officer supported by troops. Under them also, governments were established in the several Southern states, and the right to vote was given to all men, white or black, over twenty-one years of age — except those who had taken part in the war against the Union. In other words, a few white men and the mass of new negro voters were authorized to set up governments and in the course of time to come back into the Union as regular states. By this arrangement, the states, one by one, were restored to their old position, until in 1870 they were all once more within the Union.

The Impeachment of Johnson. — The various Reconstruction acts were violently opposed by President Andrew Johnson, who, as Vice President, succeeded Lincoln in 1865. Johnson was a native of Tennessee. He had been opposed to slavery, but he had not been in favor of giving the government of the Southern states over to the negroes. He vetoed, therefore, every important measure passed by Congress dealing with the Southern problems, and savagely attacked the members of Congress in his public addresses. The measures were passed over his veto; and in February, 1868, the House of Representatives resolved to impeach him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution the trial took place before the Senate. After two months of wrangling the President was acquitted — by the narrow margin of one vote.

II. GRANT AS PRESIDENT; THE RULE OF THE "CARPETBAGGERS"

Grant Elected President. — Determined to have a President thoroughly in accord with their views, the Republicans nominated and elected, in 1868 and again in 1872, General Grant, whose great military prowess and successful conclusion of the war had made him a national hero.

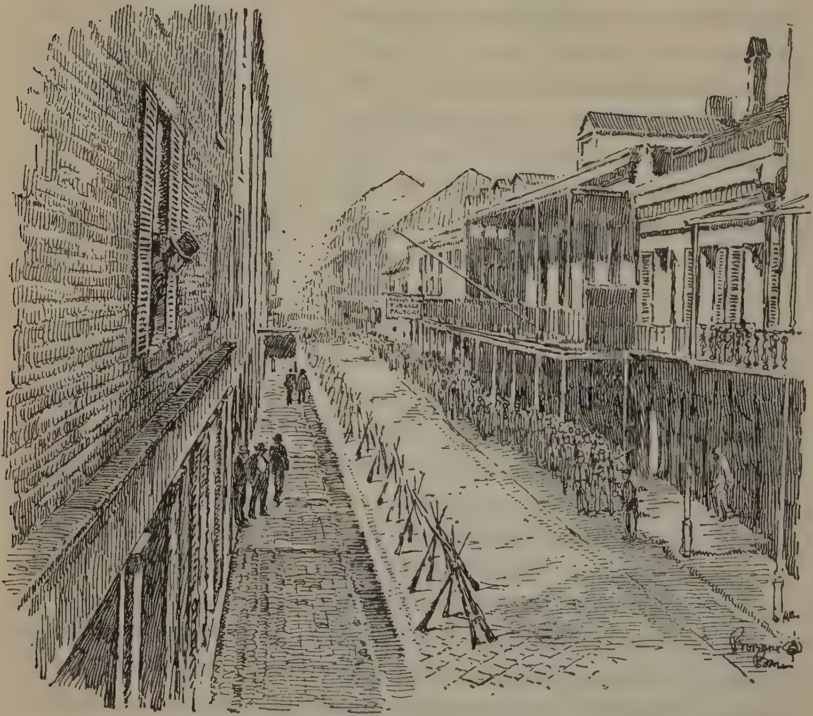
The Fifteenth Amendment. — The Republican leaders soon found that the Fourteenth Amendment, which threatened the Southern states with the reduction of their representation in Congress in case negroes were deprived of the vote, was ineffective. In spite of the amendment and the Reconstruction acts, Southern white men kept negroes away from the polls whenever they could. The

Republicans thereupon decided to have a law which would guarantee the vote to negroes, and passed in 1869 the Fifteenth Amendment, which declared in express terms that the states and government of the United States should never deprive any person of the right to vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It was ratified by the states and proclaimed a law in 1870.

Ulysses S. Grant

The Disastrous Rule of the "Carpet-baggers." — The action of the Republicans in placing Southern governments in the hands of former slaves and a few white men, who had not taken part in the Confederacy, did not solve the problems created by the war and emancipation. Men who could not read or write and who had never had a dollar before were elected to state legislatures to aid in restoring order to the stricken land. Many self-sacrificing and conscientious people from the North went down to help in reconstruction. With them, unfortunately, went many rascals who were bent upon making money as fast as they could, and getting back North with their loot as soon as possible. These rascals were known as "carpet-baggers" because they were said to have brought nothing but carpet-bags (old-fashioned valises) with them. Negro leaders and carpet-baggers voted away great sums of money to rebuild the railways, bridges, and industries of the states. They also enriched themselves out of public funds, incurring millions of dollars of new debts; and, shameful as it is to relate, many of them stole large sums from the public treasuries, while bribing negro voters and legislators with petty payments. With the land laid waste and the state governments weak and corrupt, the Southern cup of bitterness was full indeed.

The Ku Klux Klan. — The white men, thus excluded from a share in their own government, decided to take the law into their own hands. Some of the more resolute formed secret societies — such as the famous Ku Klux Klan — for the purpose of restraining the negroes and keeping them away from the polls. Dressed in masks and long white robes, the clansmen rode about at night, warning carpet-baggers and their negro friends against interfering in matters of government. Sometimes they "tarred and feathered"



Scene in New Orleans during the Rule of the Carpet-baggers or drove away those whom they marked out as their enemies. The country was aroused by reports of cruel deeds, and Congress passed more laws intended to protect the freedmen in their right to vote — but in vain. It was impossible to stamp out the secret societies. They struck such terror into the hearts of the freedmen that thousands of them gave up all attempts to take part in elections. White rule, thus restored in the South by violence, was then sealed by laws.

Laws Depriving the Negro of the Ballot. — In the nineties state after state in the South enacted laws and constitutional amendments taking the ballot away from the negroes. Of course they could not say that negroes as such should not vote. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments forbade that. They therefore hit upon a number of clever devices to the effect that no man should vote unless:

(1) he had a certain amount of property;

(2) or could read a section of the state constitution or explain it, when read to him, in such a way as to satisfy the election officers;[1]

(3) or had been a voter in 1867 or was the son or grandson of a person entitled to vote on or before 1867 — the famous "grandfather clause" (declared void by the United States Supreme Court);

(4) and had never been guilty of any crime such as wife beating, stealing, or obtaining money under false pretenses.

It is easy to see how these schemes deprived the negroes of the ballot. Most of them had no property and therefore were disfranchised by the first provision mentioned above. If a negro was fortunate enough to have the required amount of property, he found it difficult to read a section of the state constitution or to explain it in a way that satisfied the white election officers. At the same time these provisions did not disfranchise many white men. The poorest or most ignorant white man either could show that he or his father or grandfather voted on or before 1867 or could explain some clause of the constitution in a way that satisfied his white brethren. As a result of all these provisions the negroes were excluded from elections, especially in the states of the far South, and the dominion of white men was once more restored and made lawful.

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[1] Some Northern states, Massachusetts and Connecticut for instance, have similar "educational" tests for voters.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. How had Lincoln planned to "reconstruct" the Southern states? Contrast his plans with those actually carried out by Congress. 2. Read the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. (See Appendix, page 647.) Why were the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments needed after the Thirteenth had been adopted? 3. What were the important differences between President Johnson's attitude toward reconstruction and that of the leaders of his party in Congress? 4. What is meant by "impeachment"? Describe the method that is followed in impeaching an officer of the government (see Article I, Section III, of the Constitution).

II. 1. Describe the rule of the "carpet-baggers." In what ways did the Southerners oppose this rule? In your opinion was this kind of opposition justified? 2. Why were the Ku Klux Klans organized? What did they do? 3. In what ways did the South succeed in keeping the negroes from voting?

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Find the important facts about the life of Andrew Johnson. What were the strong and weak points in his character? In what ways was his life like Lincoln's and Andrew Jackson's? How did he differ from each of these men?

See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," pp. 184-189.

2. Charles Sumner was a prominent Northern leader in Congress

during the war and the days of reconstruction. Find out something about him.

See Brooks's "Stories of the Old Bay State," pp. 217–223; Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. ii, pp. 58–62.

3. The Southern states are to-day frequently spoken of as the "Solid South." What does this term mean? In what ways did the policy of the North in its attempts at reconstruction lead to a solid South?

4. A committee appointed by Congress to inquire into the condition of the Confederate states, reported, in June, 1866, that it would be "folly and madness" to permit "conquered enemies . . . at their own pleasure and on their own terms, to participate in making laws for their conquerors." Did the Acts of Congress show that they agreed with this decision? Discuss in class the best ways for a victorious people to treat a defeated people.

See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," ch. vii, pp. 148–174; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 342–351.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE SLAVERY PROBLEM, THE CIVIL WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION (CHAPTERS XX, XXI, XXII)

I. Slavery becomes a national problem.
  A. Constitutional provisions regarding slavery.
  B. Abolition of slaves in the Northern states.
  C. The "balance of power" between the slave states and the free states.

II. Events leading to the war between the states.
  A. The Missouri Compromise.
  B. The abolition movement and its leaders.
  C. The development of cotton raising in the South.
  D. The Compromise of 1850.
    1. California admitted as a free state.
    2. The Fugitive-slave Law: the "Underground Railroad."
  E. The Kansas-Nebraska Act.
    1. The Republican party organized.
    2. Border warfare in Kansas.
  F. The Dred Scott Decision.

- *G*. The Lincoln-Douglas debates.
- *H*. John Brown's Raid.

III. The political situation on the eve of the Civil War.
- *A*. The tariff and homestead issues.
- *B*. The rise of Lincoln.
- *C*. The division in the Democratic party.
- *D*. The political campaign of 1860: Lincoln elected.

IV. The Civil War.
- *A*. The secession of seven Southern states and the organization of the Confederate States of America.
- *B*. Divided opinion in the North: the proposed Crittenden Compromise.
- *C*. Lincoln's first inaugural.
- *D*. Fort Sumter surrendered.
  - 1. The North aroused.
  - 2. Four additional states join the Confederacy.
- *E*. Preparations for war: relative advantages of the North and the South.
- *F*. The campaigns of 1861 and 1862.
  - 1. Early Union reverses in the East.
  - 2. Union successes in the West.
- *G*. The Emancipation Proclamation.
- *H*. The war on the water.
- *I*. The campaigns of 1863.
  - 1. Renewed disasters in the East.
  - 2. The battle of Gettysburg.
  - 3. Vicksburg surrendered.
  - 4. The battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga.
- *J*. The campaigns of 1864 and 1865.
  - 1. Grant in command of all Union armies.
  - 2. Sherman's march.
  - 3. Grant in Virginia.
- *K*. The assassination of Lincoln.
- *L*. The cost of the war.
- *M*. Women and the war.

V. Reconstruction in the South.
- *A*. Problems of reconstruction.
- *B*. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

C. Military rule in the South and its consequences.
D. The struggle between President Johnson and Congress: the impeachment, trial, and acquittal of Johnson.
E. The campaign of 1869: Grant elected.
F. The Fifteenth Amendment.
G. The rule of the "carpet-baggers": the Ku Klux Klan.
H. Laws depriving the negro of the vote.

Important names:

Presidents: Taylor and Fillmore (1849–1853), Pierce (1853–1857), Buchanan (1857–1861), Lincoln (1861–1865), Lincoln and Johnson (1865–1869), Grant (1869–1877).

Other Political Leaders: Davis, Douglas, Garrison, Frémont, Seward, Alexander H. Stephens, Greeley.

Military and Naval Leaders: Grant, Lee, Sherman, McClellan, "Stonewall" Jackson, Sheridan, Johnston, Farragut, Meade, Hooker, Thomas, Early.

Important dates: 1820; 1850; 1854; April 14, 1861; January 1, 1863; July 1–3, 1863; April 9, 1865.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RISE OF THE NEW SOUTH

I. The South in Ruins at the Close of the War

When the soldiers of the Northern armies returned victorious from the fields of battle, they found prosperous farms and busy factories awaiting their home coming.

A Street in Richmond after the Close of the War

When the soldiers of the Southern armies returned home, they found waiting for them such a task as had seldom confronted any people in all the history of the world. The scene can best be drawn in the language of a distinguished Georgian, Henry W. Grady:

> Let me picture to you, the foot-sore Confederate soldier as . . . he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April,

> 1865. . . . What does he find . . . when he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful? He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barn empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless . . . his people without law or legal status, his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions gone; without money, credit, employment, material training; and besides all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence — the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

The Burdens of the Freedmen. — The condition of the former slaves was pitiable in the extreme. While the great war was being waged, the slaves generally remained on their masters' plantations and worked as faithfully in the fields as of old. For this devotion to their masters, Mr. Grady paid them this tribute:

> We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion.

When the war was over and the former slaves realized that they were free, the majority of them knew not where to turn; and as ancient habits of life could not be changed by a mere decree of law, they continued to live in their old cabins. Now, however, the cabins and lands belonged to their masters, and they had no right in them except as renters or wage workers. Of renting and wages they knew nothing. Ignorant of the fact that freedom did not mean idleness, many of them fondly imagined that they were to have a life of ease. In this they were encouraged by agitators, who told them that the government would give them cabins and lands, so that they could be their own masters and work or not as they liked. The cruel joke, which was widely circulated, only made matters worse, because it disheartened them all the more to be vainly waiting for the " free land " that was never given to them.

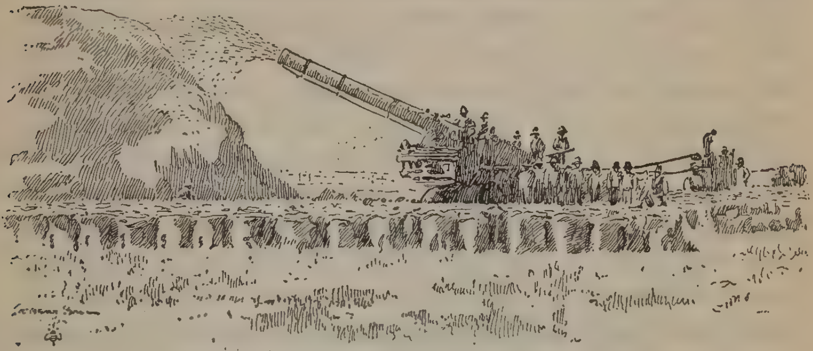
Those of a more adventurous turn of mind left their old plantations and flocked to the towns in search of excitement or work. They wandered in the highways and byways, nearly always begging, and often stealing. When they went into the towns they crowded of necessity into the meanest quarters, living in wretched huts and shanties where many died from fevers and other diseases.

Starvation in Many Places. — So great was the distress in many places that the federal government was forced to open stores for the free distribution of food to the starving, and the state legislatures voted money to feed the poor. In the state of Georgia, where bad crops added to the misery of the people, 13,000 freedmen and 38,000 whites were given aid by the government in the single month of September, 1866.

II. The Development of Farming and Manufacturing

The Reconstruction of the Planting System. *Breaking up the Estates.* — In the midst of all these discouragements, the people of the South began the work of restoration. The first big problem confronting former masters was how to get the land tilled. Finding it difficult to secure the stock and tools and to induce the negroes to work in the old way, they were often forced to break up their plantations into small farms. In 1860 the average holding of land in the South was about 335 acres; by 1900 it was less than 140 acres.

The Development of the "Renter" System. — Two systems of farming sprang up. One of them was the " cropper " or "renter" system. According to this plan the plantation owner laid out his estate in small plots and rented each plot to a negro family. As the family had no live stock, tools, or seeds, the owner advanced these on the understanding that the renter would pay for them when the crops were sold. The family had nothing to live on until the crop was harvested, and it became necessary for the owner to advance money to buy food and clothes. Thus the renter or cropper was always, or nearly always, in debt to the owner before he began to work. In return for the use of land and tools, the land-owner was to receive a certain portion of the crop raised on the plot. As the negro was unable to read and write and to keep books, he could not tell how his accounts stood. As long as he was in debt, he and his entire family had to remain and till the fields of the owner.



Threshing Rice on a Southern Plantation

The Independent Negro Farmer. — Notwithstanding the heavy handicaps, many negroes did manage to accumulate a few dollars and to start farming on their own land, or at least on land which they held under mortgage. By the year 1900 it was estimated from the census returns that there were nearly two hundred thousand small farms in the

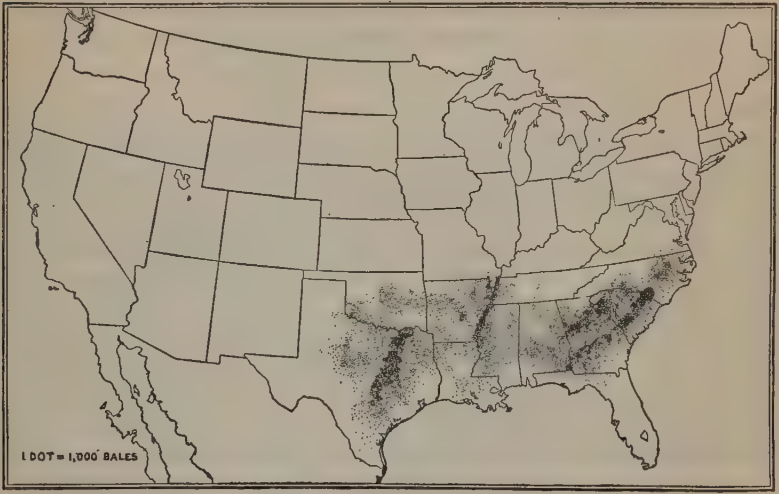
South owned by negro farmers either outright or under mortgage. At the same time more than half a million negro families were still working farms as croppers or renters on the share plan.

Wage Labor on the Plantations and Farms. — The remainder of the negroes, who continued to live in the country, were transformed into wage workers on the plantations and farms. Former owners or enterprising newcomers who bought up estates were often able to secure capital and engage in farming on a large scale. In such cases, the owners of the land hired negroes for daily wages to till the fields. The wages, even if all that the owner could afford to pay, were usually low, and negroes were frequently in debt to their employers on account of advances made for food and clothes. By this system the laborer was equally bound to the soil. He could not move away until his debts were paid, and often he could not manage to catch up with his debts, especially if there was sickness or accident in his family.

The Revival of the Cotton Trade. — In spite of all these obstacles, the farm produce of the South soon increased with great rapidity. By 1879 the output of cotton was about 5,000,000 bales, or equal to the output of 1860 — the eve of the Civil War. By 1904 the cotton crop reached the startling figure of 13,700,000 bales.

Agricultural Problems Remaining. — Nevertheless the gains of the Southern farms during the half century after the war did not compare favorably with the gains in other sections during the same period. This was due largely to the old-fashioned ways of those who tilled the soil. At the opening of the twentieth century, leaders in the South began to realize more seriously than ever that farming was a science; that untrained people, white or black, could not increase their crops as long as they clung to wasteful methods; and that laborers on the land must be educated for their work.

The Industrial Revolution in the South. *Cotton Manufacturing.* — The upbuilding of agriculture, important as it was, did not constitute the sole concern of the South. More and more attention was given to founding industries.



COTTON REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

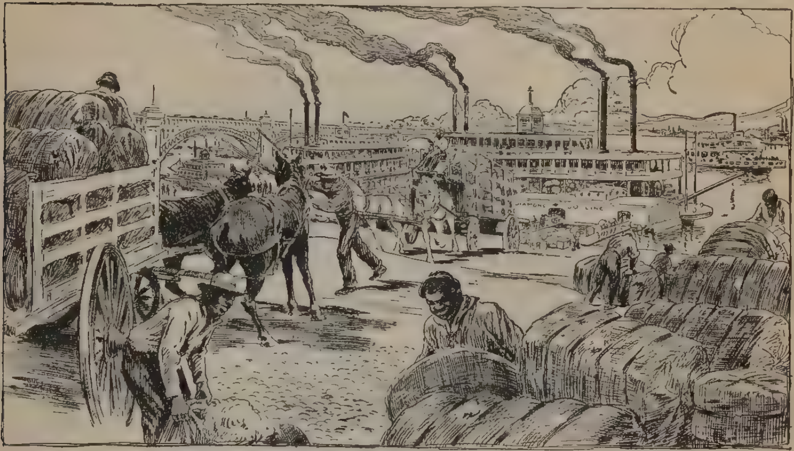
Before the war Southern leaders were the plantation owners, many of whom looked down upon what they called the "vulgar arts of trade." Anyway, the employment of slaves to manage complicated and expensive machinery was not thought practicable, and the white people were not eager to leave their farms to work in the mills.

After the war, however, capitalists, often from the North, began to build cotton mills in the South, especially in the hill regions where there was coal or water power and where there was a supply of cheap white labor. In the forty years between 1860 and 1900 the number of cotton spindles in the South multiplied more than twelvefold and the number of employees in the cotton mills more than tenfold. In 1905 there were nearly 100,000 wage earners in the cotton mills of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The Iron and Steel Industries. — Southern business activity was by no means confined to cotton manufacturing. The South was rich in timber for shipbuilding, in pine forests producing tar and turpentine, in clays for tile and pottery, in marble quarries, in phosphate beds for fertilizers, and in coal and iron. Before 1860 the South bought nearly all of her coal from Northern mines; by the end of the century she was shipping coal abroad. Within twenty years after the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, iron and steel manufacturers in Alabama and Tennessee began to push their outputs into markets all over the South and even into the North. In 1880 Alabama stood tenth among the pig-iron producing states; in 1890 it stood third. By 1910 the Southern states alone put out more coal and iron than all the Union did in 1870. Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Memphis, and Birmingham were then rivaling busy Northern cities in their manufacturing establishments and their trading concerns. Birmingham was a great coal and iron center — the Pittsburgh of the South. The percentage of increase in the number of wage earners of the south Atlantic states between 1904 and 1909 was greater than in New England or the middle Atlantic states.

The Development of Transportation Facilities. — Naturally the building of railways kept pace with the growth of Southern industries. The railway system, which had been badly wrecked by invading troops, was all made over, partly with the help of the federal government. Throughout the whole South the mileage rose from 11,000 in 1870 to 63,000 in 1910. The railways also helped to develop the industries. They created a demand for iron and wood products. They advertised the advantages of the South and invited Northern farmers to come down and help in the development of Southern resources.

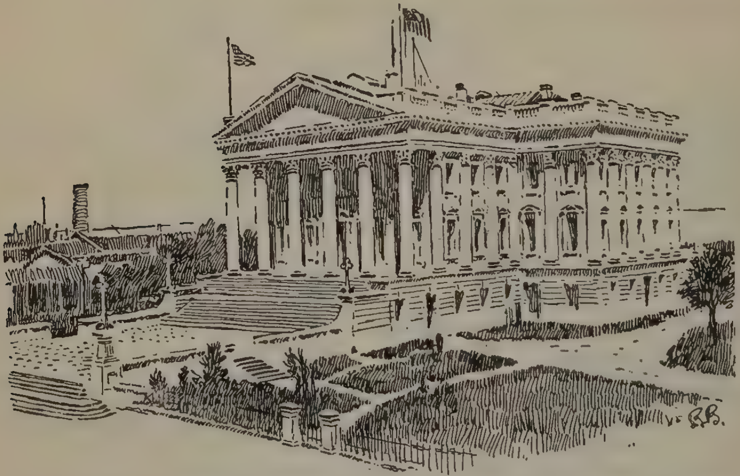
Transportation of cotton on the Mississippi River was greatly aided by the federal government, which established a River Commission in 1879, and began to build a system of levees to keep the turbulent waters from overflowing their banks and flooding the farms along the valley. The channel was dredged and straightened in many places, and by an ingenious system of dikes or "jetties" the mouth of the river was cleared and kept free from the mud which had hitherto hindered navigation. This was of great help to New Orleans, now growing into one of the important shipping ports of the world.



Loading Cotton on Mississippi River Boats at New Orleans

With the opening of the Panama Canal, the Southern ports, especially Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston, looked forward to a rapid growth of their shipping enterprises.

Changes in the Life of the People. *Industrial Wage Workers.* — The great revolution in industry and agriculture deeply affected Southern life and labor. (1) It made a demand for skilled labor. When the white people went into the factories, they began to form trade unions to fight battles for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions in the mills, just as the workingmen of the North had done years before. (2) In some respects this widened the gulf between the white people and the negroes, because the former were not willing to admit the latter to their unions or to permit them to hold the better jobs in the industries. (3) The growth of manufacturing also began to attract to the South some of the immigrants from Europe.



The Custom House at Charleston, an Excellent Type of Federal Building

Growth of New Problems.—The advance of industry shook thousands of Southern people out of their old habits of life and forced them to think about the industrial problems which had so long disturbed the North: about trade unions, the education of all the people, the government of cities, the regulation of railways and industries, the prohibition of child labor, and kindred matters which had not troubled the South in the old days.

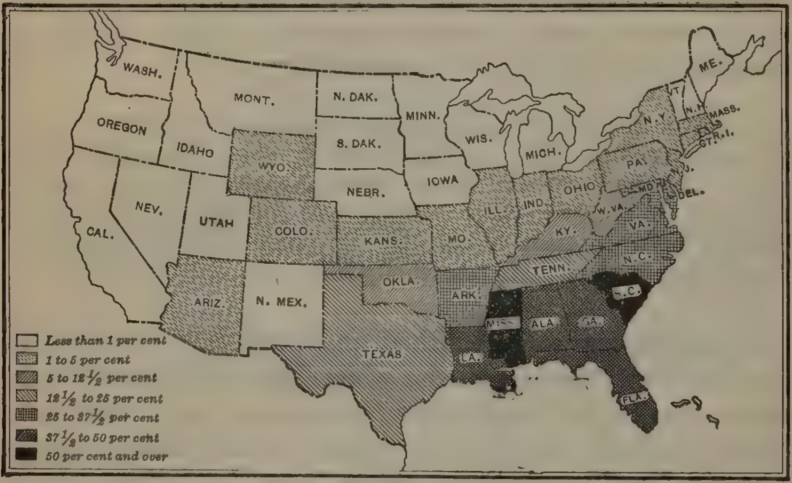
The Planting Aristocracy Reduced in Power. — Perhaps the most significant of the many changes was the decline in the power of the planting aristocracy. There had long been in the South thousands of independent and thriving white farmers, who owned no slaves and who often looked with disfavor on the system. But for the most part they had accepted the leadership and control of the powerful planters. As a well-informed Southern writer, Edgar Gardiner Murphy, has said of the "common people":

> Many of them voted . . . but as a whole they stood aloof; they were supposed to follow where others led; they might furnish the ballots, but the "superior" class was supposed to provide the candidates for important offices. There was no intimate or cordial alliance between their forces and the forces of the aristocracy. Multitudes of them were left wholly illiterate.

When slavery was abolished and the former owners fell into poverty themselves, the white farmers and the poorer white men began to get more power in politics. They had fought gallantly in the war against the invading armies from the North, and they could no longer be denied a share in Southern leadership and control. In the struggle to overthrow negro dominion, established by the federal government during the days of reconstruction, all the white people, rich and poor, were united; and after it was over the latter were unwilling to accept the inferior position which they had formerly occupied. The power of the planter was further reduced by the rise of a class of wealthy manufacturers and business men who could not be lightly brushed aside by political leaders. Thus the strength of the old aristocracy was broken and the "plain people" began to rule in the South.

III. THE RACE PROBLEM

The Condition of the Negro on the Land. — From the days of reconstruction down to the present time, the problem of the negro has remained perplexing and troublesome. Beginning in the depths of poverty, the freedmen had a "hard row to hoe." It was not surprising that, at the end of the century, the negroes of the South, who formed a third of the population, owned only one fortieth of the property.



THE PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH STATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Division of Opinion among the White People. — Proper treatment of the negroes is still one of the grave questions of the South, and Southern people are naturally much divided over it. There is no doubt that the "new democracy" of plain people — farmers and workingmen — is in many respects not so generous to the negro as the planting aristocracy had been. Moderate people believe that the negroes should have opportunities to earn a fair living and receive education to make them skillful in trades and farming. A third and important group of people want to see the negroes do more than merely earn a decent living; hope that they may become more intelligent and more enterprising; and are eager to aid them in improving their life at home and in the fields or factories.

Division of Opinion among the Negroes. — The negroes themselves are divided as to the best way to help their race. One party chafed at the restrictions imposed on the negro — the denial of the right to vote, the separate railway coaches, and the other signs of inferiority — and demanded equality of rights at once. Another party sought to teach the negro how to work with his hands and his head, and to acquire the skill and wages or property which would give him a position of independence and self-respect in the community.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Imagine yourself a Southern soldier returning to his home at the close of the Civil War. Describe the condition of the country and the changes that the war had brought. 2. Contrast with the experience of a Northern soldier returning to his home in the North or the West. 3. Make a list of the important difficulties that confronted the freedmen in gaining a livelihood.

II. 1. What is meant by the "renter" system? By the "wage" system? By "peonage"? 2. Why had manufacturing not been greatly developed in the South before the Civil War? What manufacturing industries grew up after the war? What effect did the growth and development of industries have upon the building of railways? How did this development affect the negroes? The poorer white people? The planting aristocracy?

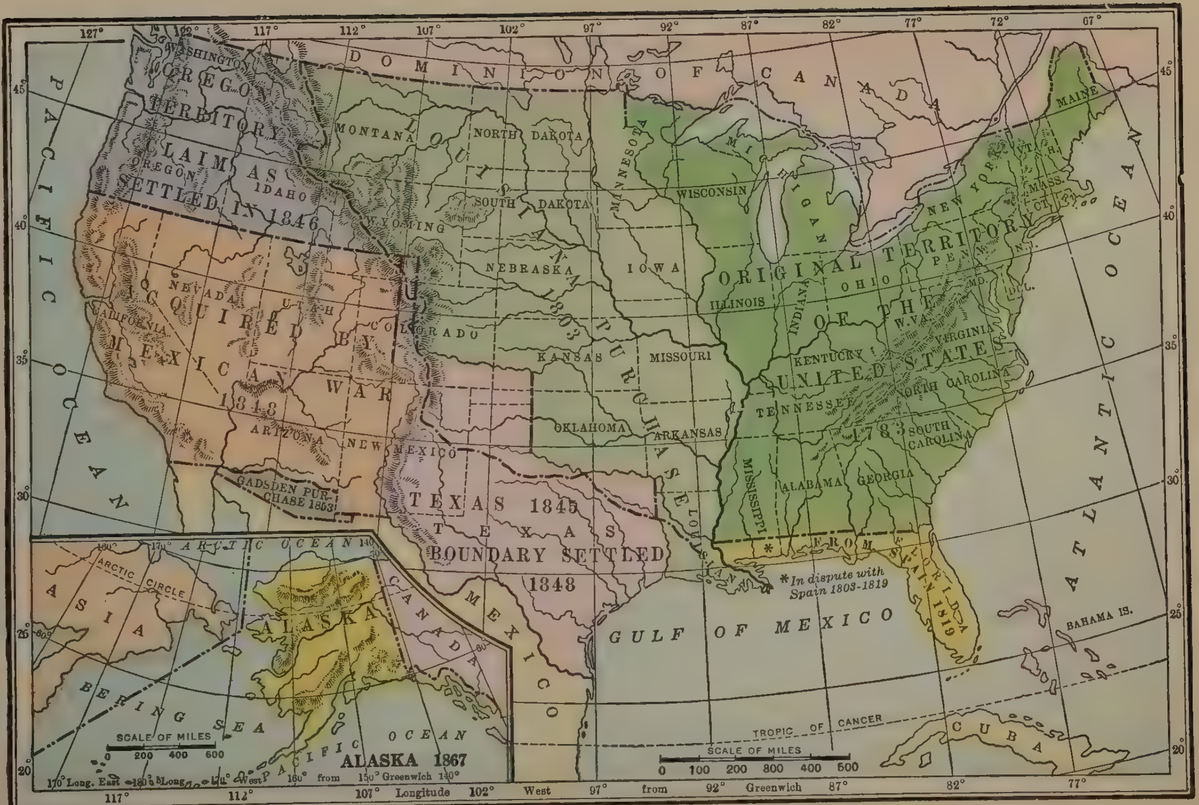
III. 1. What is the present attitude of the Southern white people toward negro suffrage? Toward the education of the negro? 2. Compare the views of negroes regarding their own problems.

PROBLEMS

1. Find all that you can about the life and work of Booker T. Washington. Find what other colored men have gained distinction because of their services in improving the condition of their people.

See Booker T. Washington's "Up from Slavery," especially chs. i, ii, iii, iv, vii, xii.

2. Compare the effects of the industrial revolution in the South after the war with the effects of the industrial revolution in the North much earlier. (See Chapter XVI.)



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CONTINENTAL EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GROWTH OF THE FAR WEST

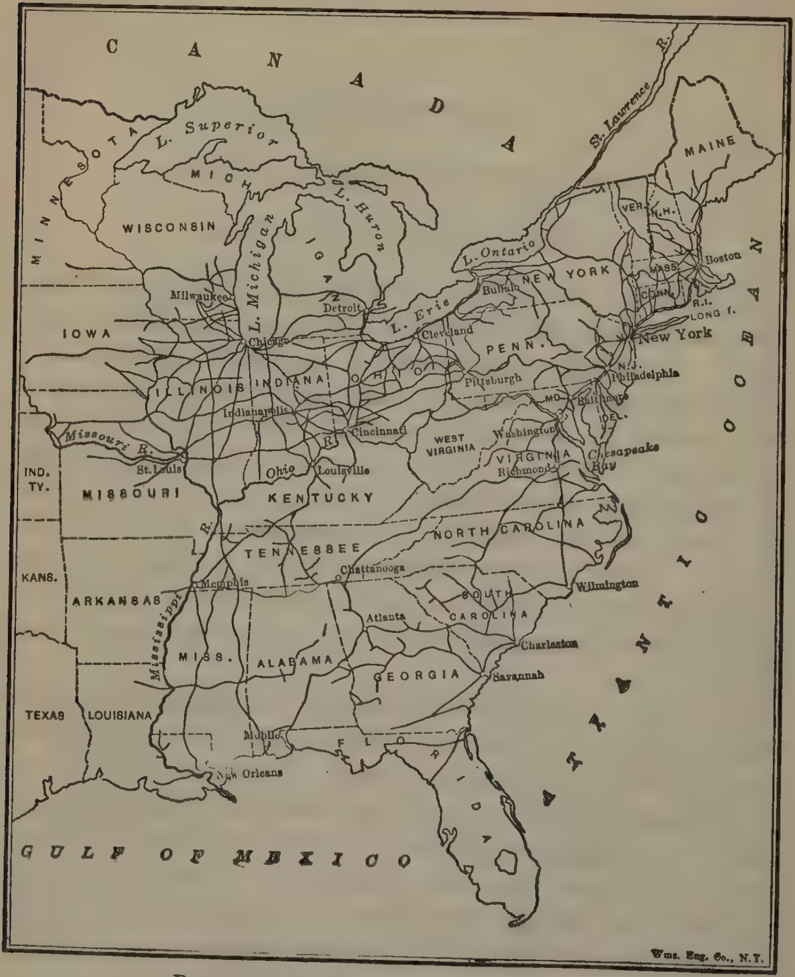
I. The "Far West" in 1860

In 1860 the Great West beyond the Mississippi Valley was almost unknown to the residents on the Atlantic seaboard. Of course there had been published many tales of the grand rush to California after the discovery of gold, of the opening of the rich Comstock silver lode in Nevada in the late fifties, of occasional brushes with the Indians on the plains, and of daring travelers who had hazarded the perils of the deserts and mountains to reach the Pacific. Only a few persons, however, realized that the vast regions over which the buffalo and coyote roamed undisturbed could soon become the seat of numerous and prosperous states.

There was no railway connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific. In their westward march, railway builders had reached only as far as St. Joseph, Missouri. More than two thousand miles of trail and mountain passes lay between that straggling Missouri town and San Francisco. The journey was long and dangerous. It was the lucky traveler who escaped unscathed the perils of the desert, the snow-bound mountain passes, and the marauding Indians.

The Geography of the Region. — Between the frontier states — Minnesota, Iowa, and Texas — and the two states on the Pacific, California and Oregon, which had been admitted by

1860, lay a vast region almost equal in area to all the older eastern states combined.



RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1860

Much of this territory was unlike the rich prairie of the Mississippi and Missouri regions. A large part of it was composed of plains and high plateaus where little rain fell and where the vegetation was slight; indeed there were millions of acres of sandy desert on which hardly anything but sage-brush and cactus grew. Beyond the great plains lay the Rocky Mountains and far beyond the Rockies towered the Sierra Nevada, both ranges rich in gold, silver, copper, lead, and coal.

Beyond the Sierra was the fertile Pacific slope, much of which was well watered by streams, while the remainder could be tilled as soon as irrigation plants could be built. In the valleys of the Columbia, Willamette, Sacramento, and San Joaquin rivers were millions of acres as fertile for wheat growing as any of the black prairies in the Illinois or Missouri country.

Communication with the Pacific Coast. — One thing was essential to the opening of the Great West. That was quicker communication. In 1860 two energetic men made a start by establishing the famous "pony express." They bought six hundred bronchos and hired seventy-five lightweight riders. They laid out a line of travel along which each man should ride a hundred miles in the plains or forty miles in the mountains and then be relieved by another. Thus a continuous chain was made to the coast. At noon, on April 3, 1860, the first pony express rider dashed out of St. Joseph, Missouri, amid music and cheers, carrying with him a letter from President Buchanan to the Governor of California. Ten days later an express rider, tired and dusty, galloped into Sacramento on his broncho with the dispatch. In December, 1860, President Buchanan's message to Congress was published in Sacramento less than nine days after its delivery in Washington!

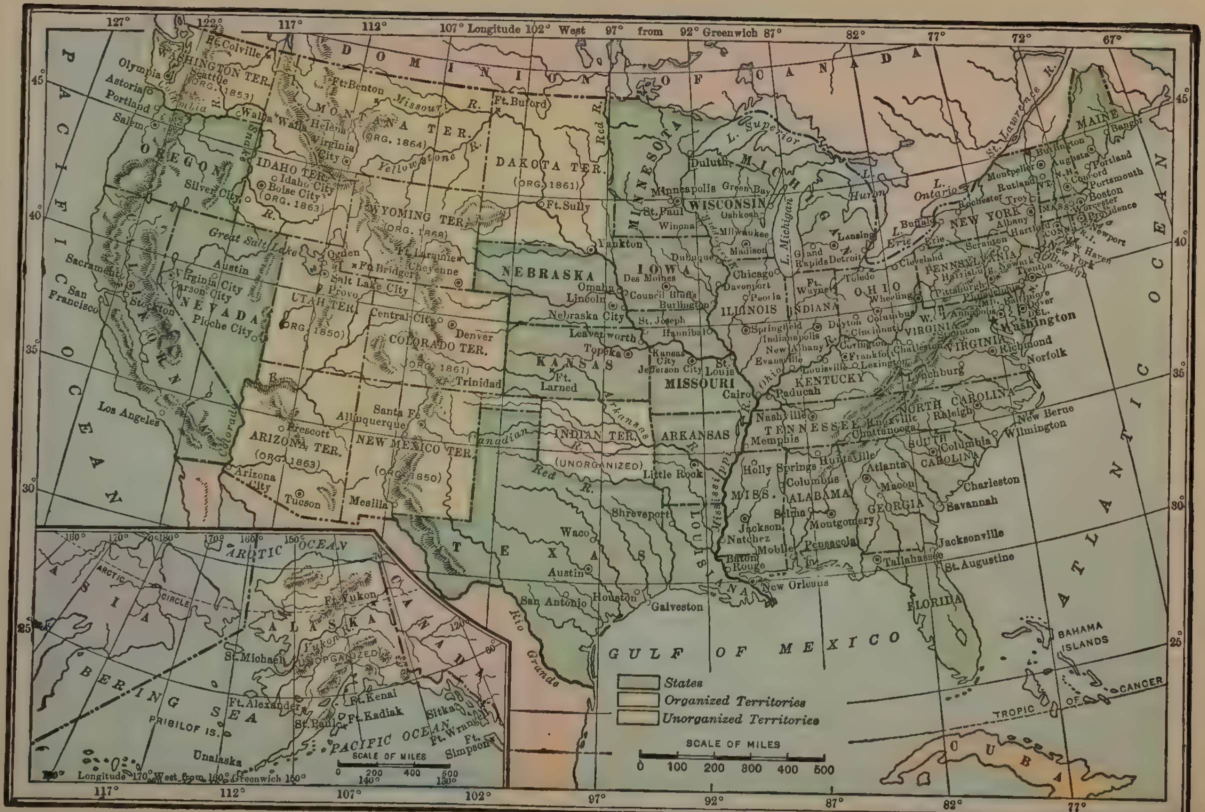
Homesteaders and Prospectors. — The federal government helped to fill up the West by providing an easy way for the poorest of homeseekers to acquire land. In 1862 Congress passed the famous Homestead Law permitting settlers to take up farms for themselves almost without cost. Under it any citizen, man or woman, over twenty-one, or any foreigner who had declared his intention of becoming an American citizen, was entitled to "enter" 160 acres of land on the government domain, free of all charges except a few dollars for land-office fees. Special favors were shown to soldiers and sailors of the Civil War.

While the homeseekers were hunting far and wide for fertile lands to settle, prospectors, with pick and shovel in hand, were climbing and delving in search of precious metals. In the early sixties they found great deposits of gold and silver in Nevada, Idaho, and Montana, and in a little while rich veins of copper were unearthed, especially in Montana. Silver was discovered in Utah, and thousands of miners invaded that territory, much to the dismay of the Mormons.

II. New Western States and Territories

Nevada. — In 1861, Nevada was separated from Utah and made a new territory. It was settled largely by miners and Mormons. Although it had only about forty thousand inhabitants, it was, three years later, admitted to the Union as a state. President Lincoln needed another state to make the three fourths necessary to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery forever.

Nebraska. — In 1867 Nebraska was admitted as a state. This region had been organized into a territory by the famous Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, which abolished the Missouri Compromise line, and did much to bring on the Civil War. Seven years later it was reduced in size, and when it came into the Union it had only 67,000 inhabitants.



UNITED STATES IN 1870

Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

Colorado. — A few years after Nebraska became a state, the people of Colorado asked for admission to the Union. Congress had given them territorial government in 1861, when the population consisted of several thousand miners and prospectors, many of whom had been drawn to Pike's Peak and the surrounding country by the discovery of gold and silver at Cripple Creek and Leadville. The capital, named Denver in honor of the Governor of Kansas, whence came some of the early settlers, was founded in 1858. Although much of the Colorado territory was broken up by high mountain ranges, there were vast plateaus and many valleys which attracted settlers and home makers, and by 1875 a population of more than one hundred thousand was claimed. The following year Colorado, to which has been given the name Centennial state, took its place among the states of the Union.

The Western Territories in 1876. — A broad wedge of largely unoccupied territory separated the organized states of the Mississippi Valley from their sister commonwealths in the Far West. Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Dakota, and Indian Territory, were still governed as territories. Their combined population in 1870 was under half a million — less than that of the little state of Connecticut. New Mexico with 91,000 inhabitants, and Utah with 86,000, with some show of reason, might have claimed a place among the states, because at that time Oregon was inhabited by only 90,000 people.

Miners and Cattlemen. — This vast and sparsely settled region of territories was then in the second stage of its economic revolution. The firstcomers — the trappers, the hunters, and the explorers — had finished their work. Now the miners were busy with pick and shovel, and the ranchmen and cowboys with their herds of cattle were roaming over the great grazing plains, waging war on cattle-thieves and land companies. Farmers were hunting for homesteads wherever fertile fields could be discovered. Railway builders were also invading the domains of the cattle kings.

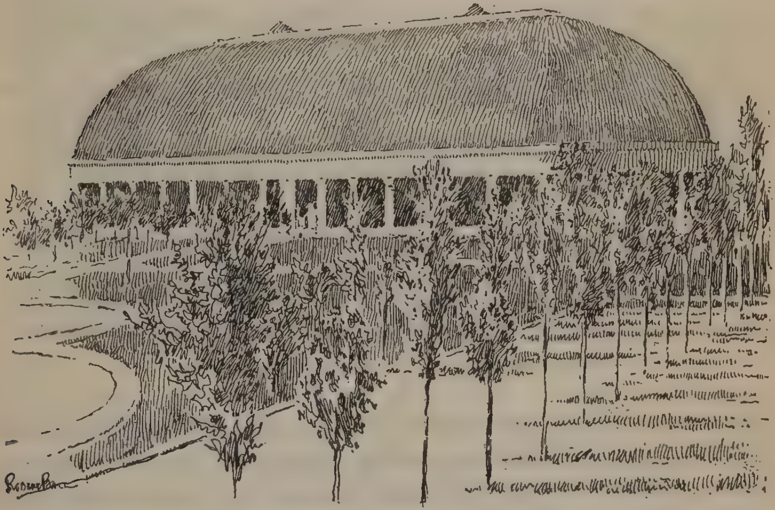
Utah. — In the early eighties, Utah presented the elements of a well-settled, industrious community, but its admission to the Union was delayed on account of the continued practice of polygamy by the Mormons, notwithstanding an act of Congress, passed in 1862, prohibiting it. In 1887 Congress passed a law authorizing the federal government to seize the property of the Mormon Church if polygamy did not cease.

COWBOYS AT THE ROUND-UP

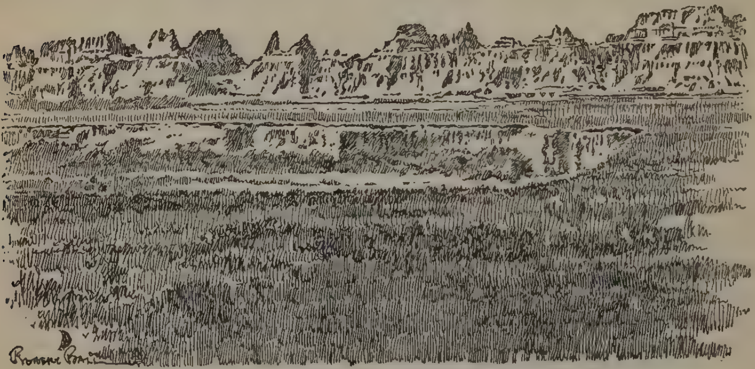
Polygamy Abandoned; Utah Admitted as a State. — Meantime the "gentile" population increased in the territory as industry and mining flourished. When the Mormons finally decided to abide by the law, Congress was at last induced to admit Utah as a State in 1896.

Although the Mormons were early pioneers and homestead makers in the Great West, their territory was, in fact, the last of the middle tier to receive statehood. In their search for a distant home, they had left the advancing frontier line far behind.

The Dakotas. — To the northward the "course of empire" had been checked by the enormous Sioux Indian reservation in Dakota, but the discovery of gold in the Black Hills marked the doom of the redman's claims. Miners and capitalists demanded that the way be made clear for their enterprise; and the land-hungry were clamoring for more farms. Indeed, before Congress could act, pioneers were swarming over the regions around the Indian lands. Farmers from the other Northern states, as well as Norwegian, German, and Canadian immigrants, were planting their homesteads amid the fertile Dakota fields.


MORMON TABERNACLE, UTAH

The Homesteaders in Dakota. — Under the Homestead Law of 1862 (see page 458), any thrifty person with a little money could easily establish himself and his family in a home of his own where he could make a living. Women had the same rights as men to "take up" lands. A railway advertisement of 1877, inviting settlers to come to Dakota, warned immigrants to arrive "by the first of May, if possible, in order to have time to select their land, build a house, and be ready to commence breaking the prairie about the first of June." Many a settler, who had left the eastern coast early in the spring, found himself comfortably housed on the Dakota prairies with a fair crop laid by before snow fell.


THE BAD LANDS, A PICTURESQUE REGION

"*Bonanza*" *Farms.* — Not all the development of the Dakota country, however, was the work of small farmers and cattlemen. Often eastern capitalists bought ten, twenty, or fifty thousand acres, furnished the stock and tools, and rented the lands to tenants. Thus there sprang up in those fertile regions the large "bonanza" farms. Some of the big farmers located in Red River Valley, in Dakota, built their own barges and floated their grain to Fargo, the principal shipping point on the Northern Pacific Railroad.

North and South Dakota Admitted. — In 1885, the legislature of Dakota petitioned the Congress of the United States, asking that the territory be divided into two parts, and that each section be admitted as a state. Finding their plea for admission without avail, the voters of southern Dakota called a convention, in 1885, framed a constitution, and threatened to come into the Union unasked. Moderate counsels prevailed. In 1887 the inhabitants voted in favor of forming separate territories, and two years later North Dakota and South Dakota were admitted to the Union.

Washington and Montana. — Far over on the western coast the claims of Washington to statehood were urged. The population there had increased until it rivaled that of Oregon. In addition to rich agricultural areas, the territory possessed enormous timber resources; and keen-sighted people foresaw a swift development of seaward trade. Prosperous seaport cities, Seattle and Tacoma, had grown up, competing with Portland and San Francisco to the south, and Spokane was becoming the metropolis of the "Inland Empire" between the Cascades and the Rockies.

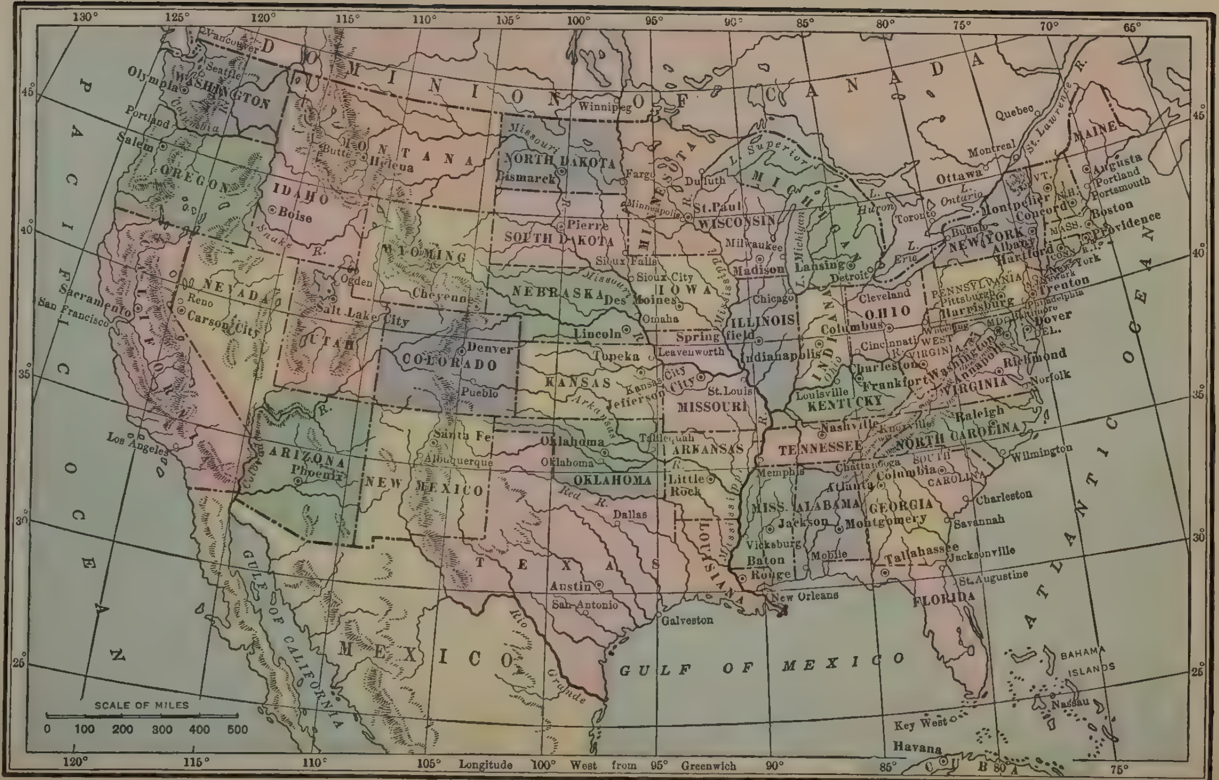
Between Washington and the Dakotas lay the plains and mountain regions of Montana, now rapidly filling up with miners and capitalists exploiting the gold, silver, coal, copper, and other mineral resources, and contesting with the sheep and cattle kings for economic supremacy. After the fashion of enthusiastic westerners, the citizens of these territories early began to boast of their "enormous" populations and their "abounding" wealth, and to clamor for admission as states. On February 22, 1889, Washington and Montana were admitted to the Union at the same time as the two Dakotas.

Idaho and Wyoming. — Looking with jealous eyes upon their successful neighbors, the two territories of Idaho and Wyoming redoubled their efforts in the battle for statehood. With the rest of the new Northwest, they were making rapid strides forward. In July, 1890, they were admitted to the Union, Wyoming bringing as voters the women, to whom suffrage had been granted in 1867.

Indian Territory Opened to Settlement. — The onward marching white man now began to cast his greedy eyes upon Indian Territory, which had been set apart as an Indian Reservation in 1834. For a long time speculators and "boomers," as well as prospective settlers, had been coveting the lands in the Oklahoma district of the Indian Territory, and were continually breaking over the boundaries. The federal government, weary of driving them off the forbidden grounds, decided to buy out the Indians and to open the region as Oklahoma Territory for settlement at noon on April 22, 1889.

Oklahoma. — Thousands of people were camped as near as possible to the border line, awaiting the day and the hour when the opening was to take place, ready to rush in pell-mell and stake out the best claims. A bugle blast gave the signal that the Indian lands were free for settlement, and an army of men with families in wagons, men and women on horseback and on foot, burst into the territory.

The first night cities of tents were raised at Guthrie and at Oklahoma City, and in ten days frame buildings appeared. These towns grew with amazing rapidity. In a single year they had schools, churches, several newspapers, and well-built business houses. Other towns in the territory grew with the same speed, and many of them were of substantial growth, although a number were "boom towns," which quickly fell into decay. Within fifteen years Okla-



Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1912

homa had a population of over half a million. In 1907 it was admitted as the forty-sixth state. The new state included Oklahoma Territory and the remainder of the old Indian Territory.

THE RUSH TO OKLAHOMA CITY

OKLAHOMA CITY FOUR WEEKS LATER

Arizona, New Mexico, and Alaska. — In 1912, the last of the continental territories, Arizona and New Mexico, were granted statehood, making forty-eight states in all. In the same year Congress provided a territorial legislature for Alaska, which up to that time had been governed by a governor appointed by the President and Senate under acts of Congress. Alaska had been purchased from Russia in 1867 for $7,200,000. It contained more than 590,000 square miles, that is, an area more than twice the size of Texas; but at first it was called a "worthless iceberg." However, it removed another foreign neighbor — Russia — from our immediate vicinity, which was considered an important political stroke. A short time after the purchase, wonderful gold, silver, and coal deposits were found in Alaska, as well as productive fisheries and other resources. The people then realized that the "iceberg" was one of the valuable assets of the nation.

III. The Problem of the Public Land

Policies of Land Disposal. — In the development of the Great West the disposal of the public lands by the government of the United States was a matter of deep concern to the whole nation.

In the beginning it was the policy of the government to dispose of the public lands in large sections, sometimes embracing millions of acres, to private companies and speculators who, in turn, broke up their purchases into smaller plots and sold them to actual farmers and settlers. At the same time was adopted the practice of selling small holdings directly to actual settlers or farmers at a very low rate.

From time to time, down until 1862, the federal government passed new laws making it easier for poor people to acquire small holdings of public lands in the West. In 1862, as we have seen, came the great Homestead Act which enabled any person to secure practically free a farm of 160 acres. In addition to these laws, special timber and stone acts were passed, providing that lands not available for farming could be sold to lumber, stone, and mining companies and individuals at low rates. Tens of millions of acres were also given to railroad companies to help them construct railway lines in the growing West. Furthermore enormous grants were made to the states for educational purposes.

The Evils of Land Monopoly. — The government's land policy helped millions of men and women in the East and in the Old World to secure free or cheap homesteads in the West. The purpose of the Homestead Act was to encourage the upbuilding of the West by free home-owning farmers. Nevertheless, land speculators and companies, often by fraudulent means, secured millions of acres of land intended for actual settlers and transformed them into great estates tilled by tenants. These speculators employed men to enter farms under the Homestead Act, and then sell the land immediately to a company. It was estimated that at the opening of the twentieth century fifty-four individuals and companies owned more than twenty-five millions of acres of western lands — an area greater than seven of the more populous eastern states. Their great domains, outrivaling in size and value the estates of the European nobility, were sometimes obtained through flat violation of the federal law.

The Roosevelt Public Land Commission. — The Government Public Lands Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt, after a long and careful study of the matter said that the effect of the land law was, far too often, "to bring about land monopoly rather than to multiply small holdings by actual settlers." It also added that there were too many speculators and not enough homes on former government lands, and that many tracts were fraudulently held.

Further Disclosures. — The report of President Roosevelt's Land Commission was supplemented in 1914 by the report of President Wilson's Industrial Relations Commission, which brought out the following startling facts:

1. Vast estates were tilled by day laborers, who were paid shamefully low wages.

2. Where the estates were let to small farmers, tenants often had to pay such high rents that they were scarcely able to make ends meet.

3. The owners of many huge estates lived in the East or in Europe, and seldom saw their property or took any interest in it except to secure the largest possible profits from it; in other words, the United States had "an absentee landlord" problem like that of Ireland.

4. Many of these vast estates were managed by overseers whose principal concern was to please their employers by wringing as much profit as possible from the day laborers.

The Spread of the Tenant System. — It is not only on these great domains, originally acquired from the federal government, that tenant farming exists. Indeed, it is steadily increasing in the older eastern states as well as in the West and Southwest. In many states the number of actual home-owning farmers is steadily decreasing and their places are being taken by renters. To some extent this has been due to the fact that prosperous farmers often retire to the towns in their old age and rent their lands. In part it is due to the lack of educational opportunities and training in farm management. Whatever may have been the cause, the striking fact remains that at the opening of the twentieth century only twenty-nine per cent of the people of the United States owned their own homes.

Wasteful Agricultural Methods. — In view of the popular indifference to the serious growth of tenant farming, it is not surprising to find a similar indifference to all manner of waste in the treatment of the soil. As some one has said, the western pioneers "mined the land"; that is, they planted profitable crops that took all the fertility out of the soil — just as the miners took the coal out of the earth — and left it barren, moving on to new and fertile regions. Where the timber was cut in a thoughtless way, the rains washed the rich topsoil into the creeks and rivers, and carried down to the sea the fertile earth that would have produced millions of dollars' worth of grain and fruits. In the Far West, also, the pasture lands were often ruined by the so-called "cattle barons" who, in their haste to make fortunes out of their herds, permitted the stock to destroy all the herbage and ruin the water holes.

Mismanagement of Timber and Mineral Lands. — The government was equally careless in the disposition of timber and mineral lands. Railway and lumber companies were permitted to acquire enormous areas, to cut timber at will, and to monopolize immense lumber resources. In the early days companies and individuals were allowed to acquire, for a pittance, great waterfalls, in order to employ the power for driving machinery or making electricity. If the government had been careful in the management of the water power on its domains, this "white coal" would have brought millions of dollars into the public treasury, and power sources acquired only to prevent competition might have been put to use. The same may be said of valuable mineral lands which were sold at trivial prices to private persons and companies.

At the opening of the twentieth century, the government was compelled to devote a great deal of attention to correcting as far as possible the mistakes of the past and to "conserving natural resources" for wiser uses in the future.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Mark on an outline map the region of the Far West that was practically unsettled at the time of the Civil War. How large was this region as compared with the settled part of the country? 2. How was communication maintained with the Pacific coast before the days of the railroad and telegraph? 3. What were the important provisions of the Homestead law? Why was the government so generous in giving land to settlers?

II. 1. How did it happen that Nevada was admitted as a state so long before many of the territories to the east of it? 2. What led to the early settlements in Colorado? Why is Colorado called the "Centennial" state? 3. What people had first settled Utah? Why was the admission of Utah as a state so long delayed? Under what conditions was it finally admitted? 4. What led the settlers at first to avoid the Dakotas? When were the Dakotas finally admitted? 5. At what time did Washington and Montana become states? How long before this had Oregon been admitted? (See table of states, Appendix, p. 641.) 6. Why was the present state of Oklahoma formerly known as "Indian Territory"? How did it come to be settled by white people and admitted as a state? 7. What are the youngest states of the Union and when did they become states? 8. How did this country come into possession of Alaska? What was thought of this region at the time? Why has this opinion changed?

III. 1. In what way did the land companies succeed in getting possession of public lands? What were the evils of this "land monopoly"? 2. What is meant by a "tenant" farmer? Why has the number of such farmers increased during recent years? What are the dangers of having so much land farmed by those who do not own it? 3. Why should a country be particularly careful not to waste its forests? Why is it unwise to let corporations secure permanent or long-time possession of water-power?

Problems for Further Study

1. Imagine yourself taking a trip by stage coach from St. Joseph to San Francisco at the time of the Civil War. Describe how you would have traveled and what you would have been likely to see.

See Hitchcock's "The Louisiana Purchase," ch. xv; Mark Twain's "Roughing It," chs. i–viii.

2. In what different ways did the geography of the Rocky Mountain country (the surface, rainfall, rivers, etc.) influence the settlement of this region?

See your geographies; also Brigham's "Geographic Conditions of American History," chs. viii and ix.

3. Look up stories of life on the homesteads and ranches of the West, such as Hamlin Garland's "Son of the Middle Border."

CHAPTER XXV

THE TRIUMPH OF INDUSTRY

The government, in order to keep the armies in the field during the Civil War, called for immense supplies of iron, steel, wagons, cotton and woolen cloth, hardware, railway materials, arms and ammunition, as well as immense stores of flour, bacon, and other farm produce. As a result of this extraordinary demand, the building of railways, the opening of mines, the erection of factories, and the invention of wonderful machines and labor-saving devices went on with marvelous speed. Within a few years the value of farms was far exceeded by other kinds of property; such as railroads, mills, mines, city office buildings, and investments in industries of all kinds.

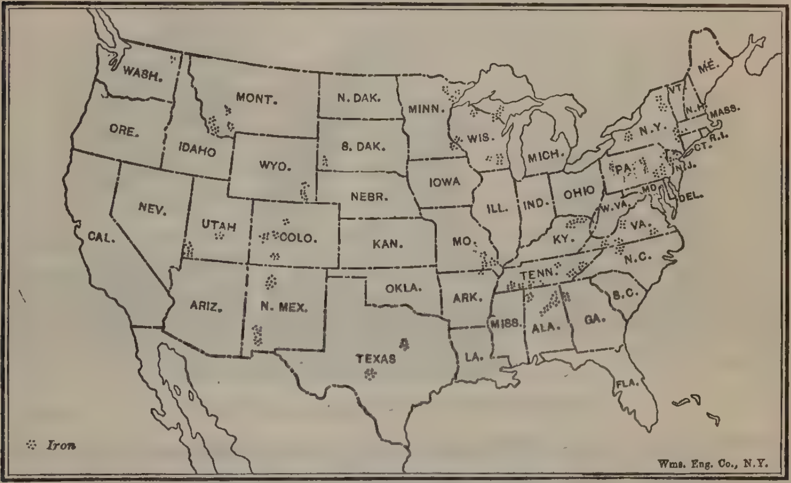
It is impossible in a brief book like this to describe the great strides taken in American industry and commerce since 1860. There are, however, several "basic industries," so called because they are the foundations of nearly all of the other industries, which require special mention. Among these are included iron, steel, copper, coal, oil, and textile industries.

I. The Development of Manufacturing and Mining

The Age of Iron and Steel. — Many writers truly speak of this as the iron age, and a little thought will show how dependent the nation really is upon this industry. Without it no railway lines could bind the East and the West, the

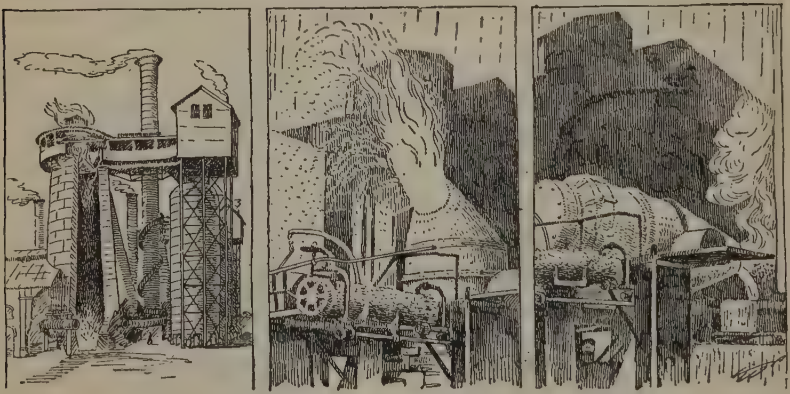
North and the South. It affords the framework for skyscrapers in the cities, materials for bridges, factory buildings, engines, machines, and agricultural implements. Without iron and steel the United States could be only a farming country, with crude methods of farming and with stagecoaches and wagons for transporting passengers and goods.

Continued Dependence on Europe. — The immense orders for guns, engines, rails, and other war materials, from 1861 to 1865, gave a great impetus to the iron and steel industry of Pennsylvania, which was the chief seat of that business. The masters and men in the foundries, though straining every nerve to meet the increasing demands upon them, could by no means supply the home market. Before 1860 the American railway companies had been compelled to look to England for most of their steel rails and locomotives, and for twenty years after that date the United States, in spite of the tariff,. imported several hundred thousand tons of rails annually.



IRON DEPOSITS OF THE UNITED STATES

New Discoveries and Rapid Development.—About 1870 the iron ranges of the Lake Superior region were discovered and ore was shipped in huge quantities to the works at Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago. The South also began to do her share, for rich deposits of iron were unearthed in West Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama. To transform the ore into pig-iron and steel, great iron mills were erected in those regions.



Steel Making in Pennsylvania Mills

The iron mills of Pennsylvania also steadily enlarged their production. By 1895, the importation of steel rails from abroad had nearly ceased and thousands of tons were being sent out to supply the markets of the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the output of American steel was greater than that of Germany and Great Britain combined, and the annual export of steel from the United States was larger than that of the world's workshop, Great Britain.

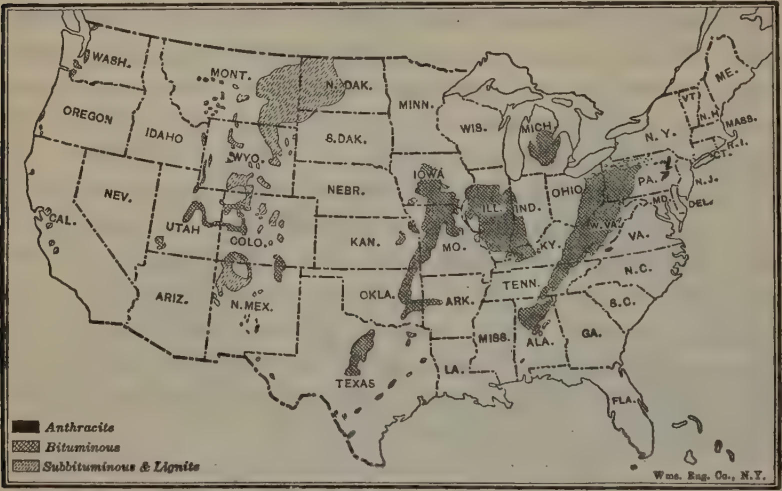
The Development of Other Mineral Industries. *Oil.*—The development of other mineral resources kept pace with iron and steel. Petroleum was discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859, and during the war it was extensively used by the government. The oil regions of Pennsylvania were soon dotted with derricks and wells. By 1872 petroleum stood fourth in rank among American exports. Refineries were early established in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, and in Cleveland, Ohio, to transform the crude oil into kerosene, gasoline, and other products. The famous Standard Oil Company operating one of two hundred fifty refineries, produced, in 1870, only about four per cent of the total output. Within fifteen years it had become the leading company in the United States and controlled about ninety-five per cent of the supply. From the East, the oil industry spread into the South and West, — Texas, Oklahoma, and California, where are now the most productive oil fields.

Coal. — By 1890 the annual production of anthracite and soft coal and iron ore exceeded the wildest dreams of the miners of old days. New fields were opened by prospectors in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Alabama, and Colorado; and regions that had formerly been a wilderness or farming land, were transformed into manufacturing and mining districts.

Gold. — To the wealth drawn from the ground in the East were added the precious metals of the West. The gold fields of California had been seized when the rush of miners came in 1849; but in a little while prospectors had pushed out into the mountain ranges of Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Colorado, where they found treasures that made the fortunes won by Cortez and Pizarro in Mexico and Peru look paltry.

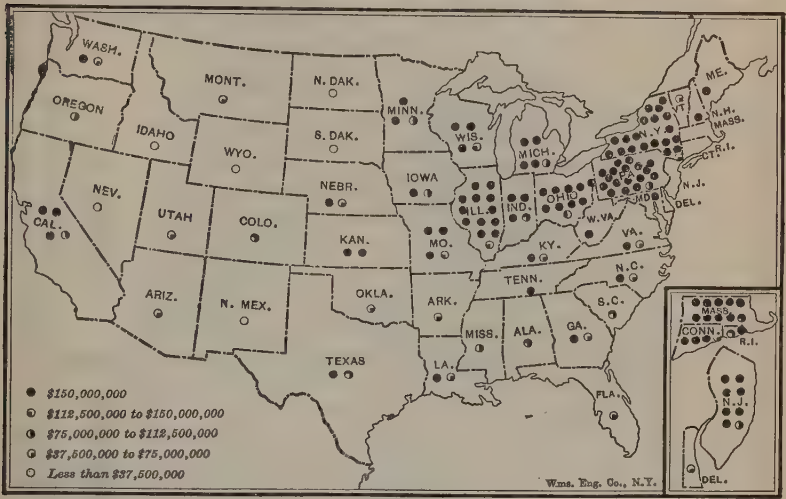
Copper. — About the time that the Lake Superior iron region was opened up, copper deposits were discovered in the same district, and the mines of northern Michigan produced, in 1875, more than sixteen thousand tons of copper — almost the entire output of the country. This supply was vastly increased a few years later by the discovery of new deposits in the mountain ranges of the West — Montana, Utah, Arizona, and Colorado.

The Development of the Textile Industries. — The same story of progress may be told of cotton and woolen goods. New England manufacturers steadily increased the numbers of their spindles and looms, particularly at the great centers, — Manchester, Lawrence, Lowell, Providence, and Fall River, — until by the close of the century the United States was making about ninety per cent of all the cotton cloth which it used and was exporting huge quantities. Long before the close of the century, Southern mills, mainly in North and South Carolina, began to rival the New England factories by turning out millions of pounds of cotton yarn annually. As for carpets, some one has estimated that the yearly output of American looms would stretch twice around the globe. Philadelphia became the greatest carpet-manufacturing center.



Coal Deposits of the United States

The Extent of Industrial Progress. — Space will not permit us to record the other developments which wrought a revolution in the life and labor of the people, but we may sum up the results roughly: In 1910 the value of American industries was more than six times their value in 1860. In 1900 there were fifteen groups of industries each of which produced more than a billion dollars' worth of goods annually. The list included iron and steel, textiles, lumber, and food products.



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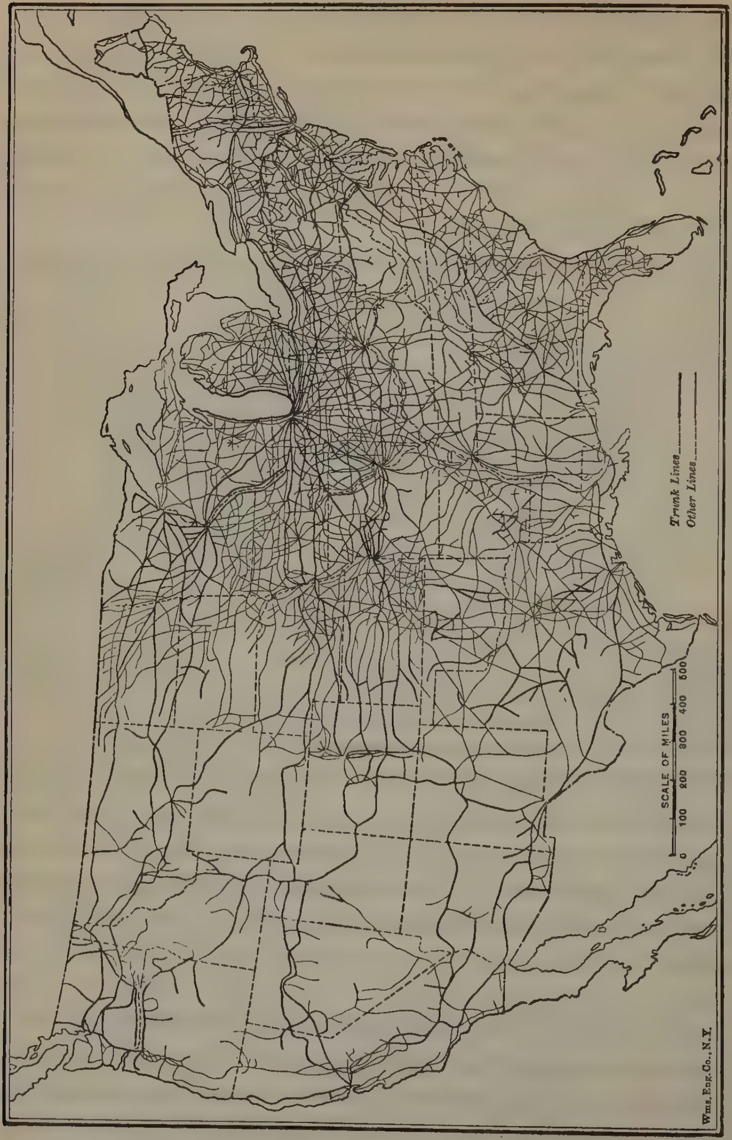
DISTRIBUTION OF MANUFACTURING IN THE UNITED STATES (ANNUAL VALUE)

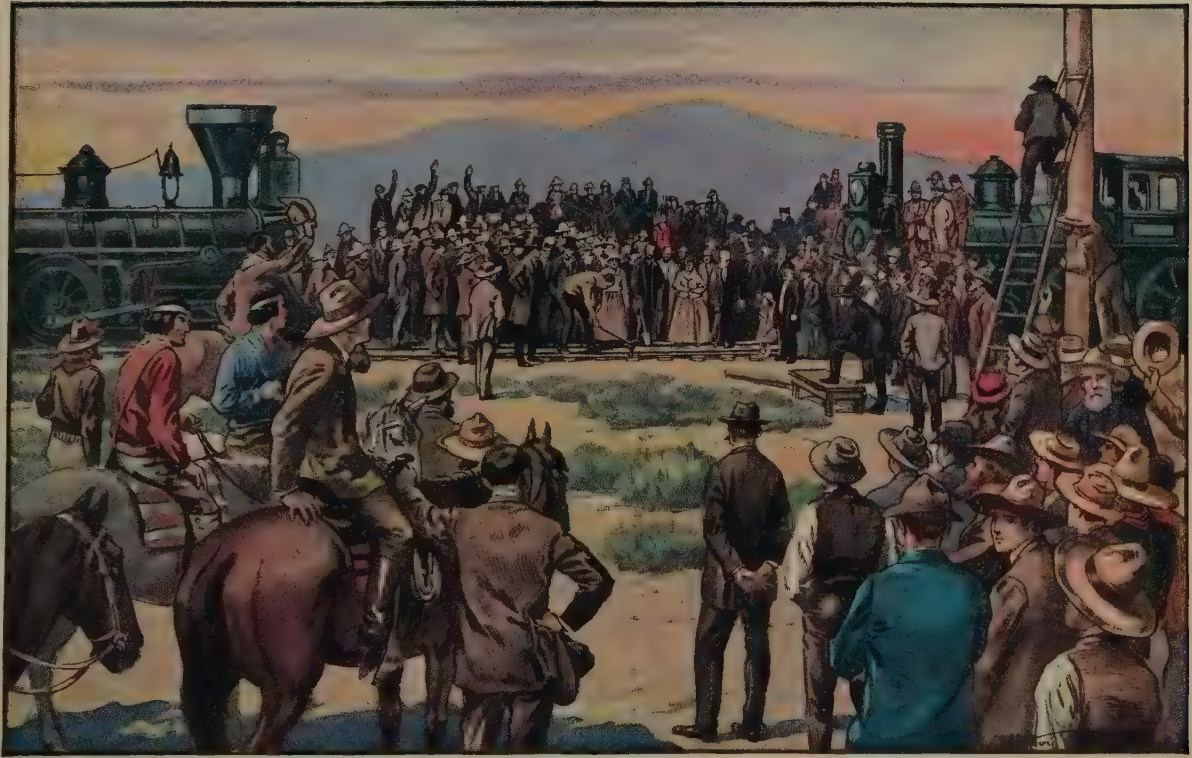
The value of the annual output of mines and factories is far greater than that of all the farms stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Moreover, the center of manufacturing has moved slowly westward until it is now in the state of Ohio.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

The Development of Railroads. — This extraordinary revolution in all parts of the country would have been impossible if it had not been for the rapid building of railways and canals and the growth of coast, lake, and river shipping.



RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1918. COMPARE WITH MAP OF RAILROADS IN 1860 (P. 456)

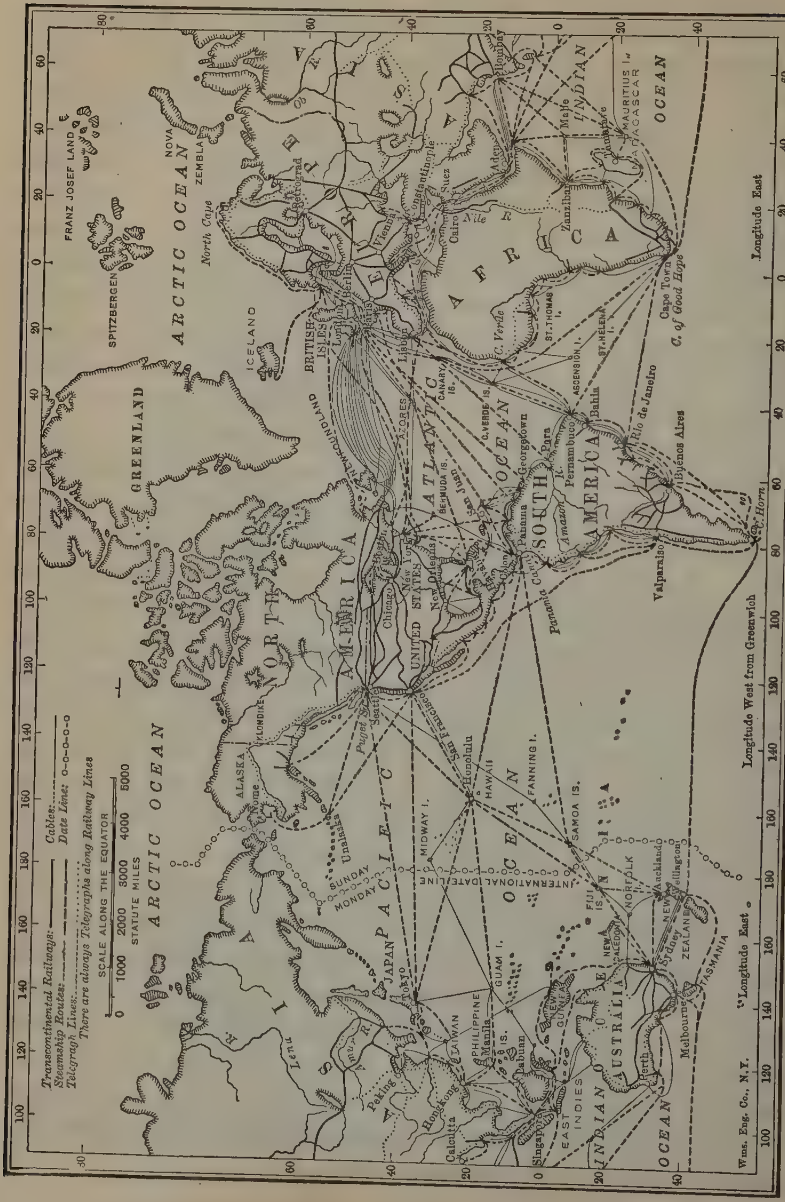


Joining the Tracks of the First Continental Railroad at Promontory, near Ogden, Utah, in 1869

In 1860 there were only 30,000 miles of railway lines in the United States. By 1910 there were 242,000 miles. The early builders of railroads naturally turned their attention to the construction of lines between important eastern cities, such as Boston and Albany, Philadelphia and Reading, New York and Buffalo. By 1860 the great cities of the East like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were connected by various routes with Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, Indianapolis, and St. Louis; and pioneers in railway building had even advanced more than a hundred miles beyond the Mississippi. Chicago was linked with New Orleans; Savannah with Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Nashville.

The First Transcontinental Railroad (1869). — The great triumph came with the opening of the Union Pacific Railroad. The necessity of binding the country together with a "cross continent" line was early recognized by business men. In 1862 Congress chartered the Union Pacific Railway Company, giving it the right to build tracks through the public domain and making it a large loan of money and gift of land. The line was constructed by two companies: one working westward from Omaha, Nebraska; the other eastward from Sacramento, California. The two construction companies met near Ogden, Utah, in 1869, and it was announced to the world that the East and the West were bound together by "a band of steel that would never be broken."

The Fever for Railroad Construction. — While this one grand line was being built across the continent, hundreds of short lines were being constructed in every direction, north and south. People everywhere invested money in railways, expecting to get rich in a hurry. Farmers and merchants along new lines bought the stocks and bonds. Cities, townships, counties, and states granted lands and voted money to companies in order to secure connections with one another and with the outside world.



TRANSPORTATION ROUTES, TELEGRAPH LINES AND CABLES OF THE WORLD

Government Subsidies for Building Railroads. — The federal government, as well as state and local governments, paid a large part of the cost of many early railways. Congress either gave money or guaranteed bonds for railroad companies to the amount of tens of millions of dollars, and then gave them enormous areas of land besides. Up to 1872, the federal government had granted in aid of railways 155,000,000 acres of land, an area estimated as " almost equal to the New England states, New York, and Pennsylvania combined; nineteen different states had voted sums aggregating $200,000,000 for the same purpose; and municipalities and individuals had subscribed several hundred million dollars to help railway construction."

In 1890 it was estimated that the government had granted 337,740,000 acres of public lands to companies and to states for wagon roads, canals, river improvements, and railroads. This empire was equal to one sixth of the total area of the United States and three times the area of France.

The Influence of the Railroads. — The great progress in American business was promoted by these lines of communication running in every direction. They connected the farming regions of the western plains with the seaports of the East, enabling the farmers to rush their products into European markets and, in return, to receive the manufactured products of the Old World and of the East. They encouraged the settlement of the far-off and backward regions, until almost every arable acre of the country was brought under the plow. They made it possible for the prospectors and miners who tapped the rich mineral resources of the earth to pour their heavy materials into the markets in every corner of the country. By linking all sections they helped to bind them into a closer national unity.

The Merchant Marine. — In aiding railway lines the government did not overlook shipping along the American sea coasts and on the Great Lakes. Special protection against foreign competition was granted. Between 1860 and the end of the century that shipping multiplied threefold. Ship owners engaged in carrying goods from Boston to New York and to Charleston, for example, or from Chicago to Buffalo, steadily increased their business until their ships, in size, speed, and strength, were equal to the ocean-going liners. Where protection was not afforded, however — on the high seas — the tonnage of American ships engaged in foreign trade steadily declined, until about the close of the century it was less than half what it had been at the end of the Civil War. At the opening of the twentieth century more than nine tenths of the goods exported from, and imported into, the United States were carried in ships flying foreign flags.

This decline of ocean-going American shipping was responsible for the constant demand that Congress should grant money to American business men who undertook to build and operate vessels across the seas. Such grants, known as "ship subsidies," were strongly opposed, chiefly by the West and South, on the ground that we should ship our goods in the cheapest way. They were warmly supported, however, in the seaboard states, and also by those who held that we should strengthen our navy by training up a body of able sailors in the merchant marine. It was not until President Wilson's administration that Congress voted money and provided aid in the construction of a high-seas marine.

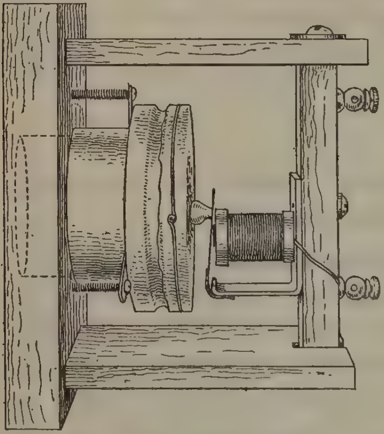
Changes Due to Development in Industry and Transportation. — The changes in American life, which we have mentioned in Chapter XVII, became even more vital and more widespread. Instead of a handful of inventors, there was a great army; instead of a few thousand miners and mill workers, there were millions; instead of a few merchant princes, financiers, and captains of industry, there were thousands. In the westward regions there was heard the roar of mills and furnaces. In the valleys and on the mountain-sides of Colorado, Montana, Utah, and Nevada, where in the days of Antietam and Gettysburg only the handiwork of nature was seen, there began to gleam the fires of the furnaces and smelters, and heaps of gray slag were piled so high that they almost rivaled the mountains. Where in Lincoln's day ran the pony express and the stagecoach, there now rushed swift trains bearing passengers and freight East and West.

III. The Army of Industry: Inventors, Business Men, and Artisans

The Great Service Rendered by Inventors. — Among the millions of individuals who worked in our great industries, we may put first the inventors, who are to be numbered literally by the tens of thousands. It seems hardly just to name any of them, for not one of the many inventions made in the last half century — the typewriter, tin can, telephone, phonograph, airplane, wireless telegraph, electric light, electric car, self-binding reaper, and automobile, to mention only a few — is entirely the work of a single inventor.

The republic of inventors, like the republic of letters, is really universal. A need is felt, and a score or more of inventors, sometimes unknown to each other and living in different parts of the country or of the world, attempt to meet it. They gather ideas from the work of other thinkers and from writings of students. They experiment and make little gains here and there, one adding to the work of another, until at length a marvelous machine is produced.

The Slow Accumulation of Improvements. — We associate with the name of Alexander Graham Bell, of Boston, the invention of the telephone, and we know that, in fact, he really brought it into human service, basing his achievements on more than a century's experiments in the field of electricity. After Bell demonstrated the practical use of the telephone, hundreds of other inventors added to it, refining it here and there, until in 1915 the continent was spanned, and the Mayor of New York was able to talk to the Mayor of San Francisco.



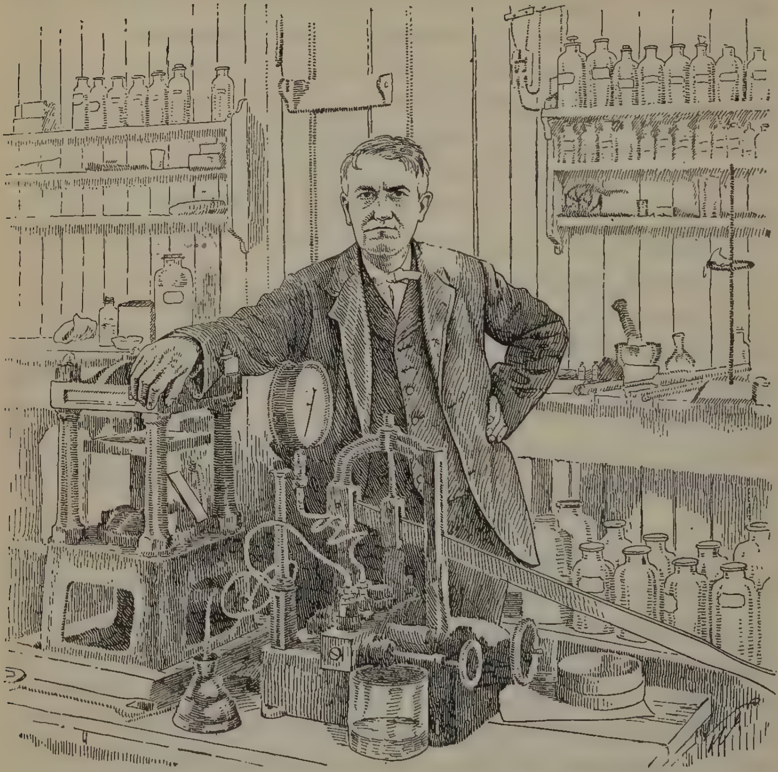
Bell's First Telephone

Who then devised the telephone which we use today? A thousand inventors or more, most of them nameless and unhonored in the pages of history. What is the date of the invention of the telephone? Superficial writers may fix it at 1876, when Bell made his first successful experiment over a few miles of wire; but the accurate historian will have to record that the invention of the telephone covers more than a century, from the time when men first began to experiment with electricity, down to the latest hour.

The same is true of other inventions. We speak of the invention of the arc light by Charles H. Brush, of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1878, and undoubtedly he was a great genius. Nevertheless his work rested upon older experiments with electricity, and was only the beginning of many improvements. We associate the invention of the incandescent electric lamp, the phonograph, and the electric street car with Thomas A. Edison, the "Wizard of Menlo Park"; and yet justice requires us to say that Edison drew to his aid the experiments and failures of hundreds of other inventors. He added ideas of his own. We think of the Wright brothers in connection with the airplane, but many other inventors helped. The aluminum industry and the gas engine had to be brought to a high state of perfection before flying machines could be of practical utility. We commonly connect the invention of the wireless with the name of the Italian genius, Marconi, but he was only one among a large group of foreign and American workers who contributed to the solution of the problem. It was not until the electrical industry was well advanced that it was possible to think of sending messages through vast spaces without the aid of wires.

By the activities of hundreds of scientists and inventors a new world of human endeavor was created. Scientific books and periodicals were published, and scientific instruction was established in the schools and colleges. The thought, ingenuity, and hopes of millions were quickened, and the spirit of discovery and invention entered the very life of the nation.

Thomas A. Edison. — One of the most interesting and important facts about the inventors is that so many of them came from the common walks of life rather than from the "aristocracy of wealth and talent." Of this great army Thomas A. Edison may perhaps be placed at the head; although he, realizing how much there is yet to be done in the conquest of nature's forces, is the most modest of men. He was born in 1847, at Milan, Ohio. He was not sent to school and college, but received such education as he had from his mother. His parents were poor, and when he reached the age of twelve he became a newsboy on the railway between Detroit and Port Huron, Michigan. His mind was always full of wonder, and he kept his eyes open watching everything that went on about him. Before he had reached the age of twenty-one, he made two or three important inventions. In 1869 he removed to the East, and began a long series of experiments which produced the many new devices and improvements on other inventions which are connected with his name; such as the incandescent electric light, the electric street railway, the phonograph, the mimeograph, the storage battery, and the moving picture.



EDISON IN HIS LABORATORY AT WEST ORANGE, N. J.

The Work of the Business Men. — Before an invention can be widely used, a business must be organized to manufacture it in large quantities. So we must rank with the inventors the huge army of business men, merchants, manufacturers, and capitalists, who organized companies, raised the money, and brought together the supplies necessary to industry on a vast scale — "captains of industry" and "barons of finance" as they are sometimes called, richer and more powerful than kings of old. Some of these men had for a main purpose the making of large sums of money. Others had visions of mighty industrial organizations spanning the continent and spreading out into all portions of the world.

Like the inventors, they began with little things and simple enterprises, and then advanced to larger and more difficult tasks. Take, for example, the first railway magnates. They thought that the construction of fifty or a hundred miles of railway was a great achievement. In time, however, came the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, and the Harrimans, who combined and organized thousands of miles of railways, bringing together under one company a mileage stretching more than halfway across the continent. Then there were manufacturers like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, who began with little things and gradually reached out in every direction, until they built up enormous business corporations, employing armies of workers and controlling vast resources.

The Standard Oil Company is a kingdom in itself, with its innumerable wells, refineries, pipe lines, steamships, stores, and branch offices in the United States and in every part of the world. In Siam, India, China, Russia, and in the waste and out-of-the-way places of the earth, the signs of that great company may be seen.

Then, again, there is the Bell Telephone Company, one of whose early managers had a vision of "a telephone linking every cottage, village, and city in the country." As a result of this vision and the labors of the managers and employees, it is almost impossible to find any place of human habitation out of reach of the telephone.

All this would not have been brought about if there had not risen also barons of finance like J. P. Morgan, who were able to collect millions and even billions of dollars to finance gigantic enterprises. The money power was concentrated in the business sections of cities with their stock exchanges, their brokers' offices, their banks and trust companies.

The Service of the Laborers.—Last, but by no means least, was the still mightier army of laborers, men and women, skilled and unskilled, ranging from the low-paid wielder of shovel and pickax to the carefully trained scientist and mechanician. The industries described above could never have grown out of small proportions had it not been for the millions of laborers drawn from every clime — Irish, Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, Czechs, Jews, Greeks, Slovaks, and the rest. Without this vast labor supply, the work of the inventors and the enterprise of the capitalists would have accomplished nothing.

Without laborers, " King Industry " would have ruled over a shadow realm and his coffers would have been empty. The laborers were the people who mined his ores, dug his coal, built his railways, kept vigil at his humming machinery, operated his great furnaces, wrought his iron work, lifted up his towering sky-scrapers. They not only did his work; they peopled the industrial centers; they were the " plain citizens " upon whose conduct and character depended the very life of the nation.

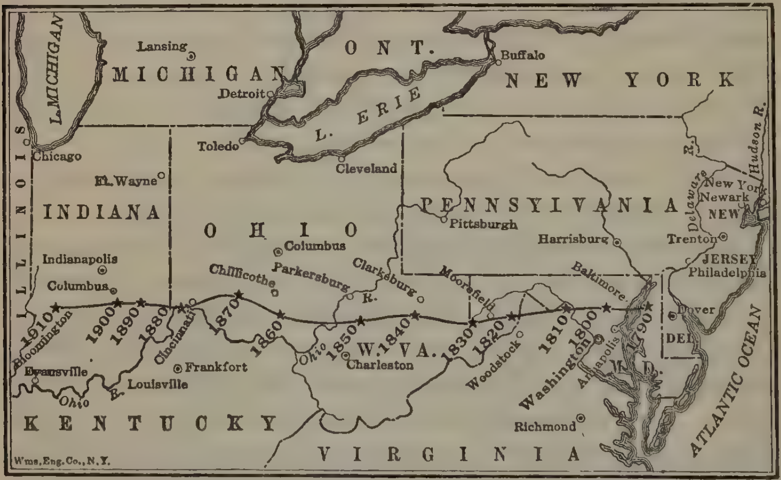
IV. The Results of Industrial Development

The Development of the Export Trade. — Through the labors of its people the United States was enabled to take its place among the first industrial nations of the earth. The products of mill and mine as well as those of the farm went into all corners of the earth. Business men searched for fresh opportunities to sell their goods and to invest their money, competing with the British and the Germans in Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Orient. They delivered shiploads of manufactured products to European markets where their fathers had been only buyers. They unloaded at Liverpool steel billets at a price that frightened the English steel magnates, who, in older days, had found only customers in America. Thus the United States, in the search for markets and profitable investments, became a "world power."

The "Frontier" Disappears. — Another chief result of this progress was the disappearance of the frontier and the backwoods. King Industry must view all of his dominion from the mountain top. There must be no precious metals or ores or waterfalls or mysterious places hidden to his gaze. His subjects search in the highways and byways, in the mountain passes, in the deserts and cañons, in the forests, by the seaside — everywhere, for nature's materials to transform, and for nature's resources to develop. Under his rule, railways, like a vast network of veins and arteries, run in every direction. The government comes to his aid, and by its rural free-delivery system, carries mail and gathers it up along the seldom trod pathways and in the prosperous farming regions. The governments, federal and state, spend millions of dollars building highways, opening up remote regions, where a generation ago the settlers for a week at a time never saw a stranger. Instead of the old toll roads of ten or twenty miles, there are stretches of macadam highways hundreds of miles long.

As the backwoods regions were opened up, and cities built, the center of population moved westward. In 1800 it was a few miles west of Baltimore; in 1850 it was near the border of southern Ohio; in 1880 it was beyond Cincinnati; and, in 1910, it was near Bloomington, Indiana.

Business and Industry Gain on Farming. — The marvelous advance in industry and commerce brought in its train a revolution in American life. The United States was not to be what Jefferson had hoped: in the main, a nation of independent, home-owning farmers. The number of wage workers as compared with the farmers was to be larger and larger from decade to decade. Between 1860 and the end of the century the total population of the United States increased about threefold, while the number of wage workers increased fivefold, that is, from 1,300,000 to 6,600,000. At the outbreak of the Civil War the great majority of voters were farmers and planters; at the opening of the twentieth century the business men and wage workers promised soon to outnumber the workers on the land.



The Westward Movement of the Center of Population

The Growth of the Cities. — The growth of industry also meant a steady increase in the number of people living in cities and towns. In 1860, only about one sixth of the American people dwelt in towns of over 10,000. By the end of the century the proportion had grown to one third. The census of 1910 recorded that nearly one half of the people lived in towns of 2500 and over. In Massachusetts, for example, more than nine tenths of the people lived in towns of over 2500; in New York the proportion was nearly eight tenths, and in Pennsylvania, six tenths. In the forty years between the first inauguration of Lincoln and the second inauguration of McKinley, Chicago grew from 110,000 to 1,700,000; New York from 1,200,000 to 3,400,000; and San Francisco from 57,000 to 343,000.

Industrial Development Brings Many Evils. *Poverty.* — The massing of the people in towns became very serious, especially because so many of them were poor immigrants who spoke no English and were accustomed to living on low wages. Being unable to seek employment themselves, they readily fell into the hands of " patrons " or " gang bosses " of their own countrymen, who farmed them out as laborers and took part of their wages. The people of each nationality tended to cling together and form a separate section of the population almost as much out of touch with American life as though they were living in the Old World. Unskilled laborers often received low wages and were frequently out of employment; they were forced to live cheaply in crowded tenements; and they were the victims of poverty and disease. The industrial workers, being compelled to migrate from place to place in search of employment, were unable to buy homes of their own, and from two thirds to nine tenths of them became permanent renters.

Child Labor and Woman Labor. — The problems of the wage workers were all the more serious because the number of women, girls, and children employed out of their homes grew steadily from year to year. By 1870 about one seventh of the women over sixteen years of age were employed in gainful pursuits, and in 1900 the number had increased to more than one fifth. In the latter year, about one third of the women of Philadelphia were employed for wages, and about one eighth of them were working in factories. At the same time, 18,000 out of 42,000 women at Fall River, Massachusetts, were wage workers — about 15,000 of them in factories. Owing to the difficulties of forming unions among women, their wages, even for the same work as done by men, were in many trades very low, and their poverty was bitter in the extreme.

Industrial Panics. *The Panic of 1873.* — Americans rushed with such haste into constructing railroads, opening mines, and building factories, that they overdid things and every few years there was a big "smash" in business. In 1873 there came a great industrial "panic," which was attributed at the time to the building of more factories, mills, mines, and oil refineries than the demand for goods warranted. Moreover, there was so much capital invested in railroads that it was impossible for the traffic to pay interest on it. So it happened that hundreds of railroad companies were forced into bankruptcy. Some of them reduced the wages of their employees. This action brought on strikes, such as the famous strike of 1877 on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Panic of 1892–3. — Another great panic occurred in the early nineties, when business was paralyzed. Thousands of workmen were out of employment tramping the streets hunting for jobs, and strikes broke out all over the country. It was then that a band of unemployed, led by "General" Coxey, marched to Washington to demand relief from the government. In such periods of business disorder serious havoc was wrought, particularly among the working people. The unemployed were often compelled to beg for bread;

homes were broken up because fathers had to go away from them to find employment; men and women, once honorable and honored, were often changed into beggars and thieves because they were in such desperate circumstances.

The Waste of Natural Resources. *The Forests and Mines.* — While business men were pressing forward with their industries with so little heed to the lives of the working people crowded in the cities, they were equally reckless in using up the natural resources of the country. The fur-bearing animals were slaughtered to get as much immediate profit as possible for the fur dealers. All the great fishing grounds would have been ruined, had not the national and state governments established fishing commissions to re-stock the waters and keep up the supply. Millions of acres of timber were cut over in haste to make money; only the best trees were taken, and they were permitted to fall so as to injure young growth. Careless woodmen allowed fires to sweep over thousands of acres, destroying millions of dollars' worth of timber. The same waste occurred in mining. In their hurry to make profits, the mining companies cut out only the best ores or the most profitable veins of coal, leaving in abandoned mines immense untouched stocks.

In picturing the triumph of industry, therefore, we must not leave out of our account the darker shades — the legacy of serious problems which it bequeathed to the future. We marvel at the ingenuity of the inventors; we wonder at the colossal enterprises of the business men; and we admire the skill and swiftness of the industrial workers. It is fitting that we should do this; but we must remember that the thought and vigilance of generations of citizens will be taxed to the utmost to bring out of this mighty industrial revolution the best and happiest life for the millions who labor for their daily bread.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. In what ways did the Civil War stimulate manufacturing in the North? What kinds of manufactured goods are increased in demand by war? What kinds of goods are likely to decrease in demand? 2. State some of the reasons explaining why Pennsylvania became a great center for the iron and steel industries. Iron ore is abundant around Lake Superior, but there are few furnaces and steel mills in that region. Why? Where is the ore from the Lake Superior region turned into iron and steel products? 3. Locate on an outline map of the United States the principal regions producing: (*a*) iron ore; (*b*) copper; (*c*) petroleum; (*d*) hard coal; and (*e*) soft coal.

II. 1. Why would the industrial development have been impossible without the development of railroads and canals? 2. When was the first transcontinental railroad opened? 3. What is meant by a "subsidy"? Why did the federal government grant subsidies for the building of railroads? 4. Why were ocean steamship lines also not granted subsidies? 5. In what kind of trade was our merchant marine chiefly engaged in the late nineteenth century?

III. 1. Whose name is connected with the invention and development of the telephone? 2. What other great inventions have been made or developed by Americans? 3. Tell the story of Thomas A. Edison. 4. Why were the business men important in the development of industry? Who were some of the great "captains of industry"? 5. What part did the artisans and laborers play in the triumph of industry?

IV. 1. Name the important results of the great development of industry since the Civil War. 2. Why is export trade important to a nation? 3. What is meant by the "disappearance of the frontier"? 4. How did industrial development influence the growth of cities? 5. What were some of the evils that came with the growth of industry? 6. What is meant by an "industrial panic"? What were the two great panic years?

Review. Make a list of the developments following the Civil War that made the United States into a "World Power."

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Think over and discuss the ways in which the development of one industry helps the growth of other industries: how the railroads, for example, helped agriculture, and at the same time created a large demand for steel products; how the growth of the farms helped manufacturing of all sorts; and how the growth of railroads and manufacturing helped mining.

2. Tell the story of the telephone.

See Mowry's "American Inventions and Inventors," pp. 286–291.

3. Find out all that you can about the development of lighting from the days of the tallow candle to the invention of the incandescent electric light.

See Mowry's "American Inventions and Inventors," pp. 67–89.

4. Look up the life of Edison in Wheeler's "Thomas Edison."

5. Look up the important dates and names in the history of aviation to find out the steps in its development and what certain men contributed. These names especially should be noted: Langley, Wright, Curtiss, Zeppelin, Read, Alcock and Brown, Scott. When was the first successful flight made by the Wright brothers? How were aircraft of various kinds used in the Great War? When and where was the Atlantic first crossed in a hydroplane? in an airplane? in a dirigible balloon?

6. Look up similarly and make a list of the steps in the development of other important inventions and industries, giving some of the principal dates and names in connection with them, such as the various uses of electricity, the rubber industry, the automobile.

CHAPTER XXVI

IMMIGRATION

I. THE EARLY SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION

The Population of the Early Republic. — When American independence was declared, more than three fourths of the population, if we exclude the slaves, were of English and Scotch descent. Here and there throughout the country were scattered settlers from other nations: Germans in Pennsylvania, Swedes in Delaware, Dutch in New York, Irish and Welsh in the Middle Colonies, and a few French Huguenots at various points. If the United States however had shut out all other aliens and reserved the land for the descendants of citizens residing here at the time of the Revolution, the total population at the opening of the twentieth century, it is estimated, would have been about thirty-five millions instead of nearly one hundred millions.

In the early days of the Republic there were many people who looked with disfavor on foreign immigration. Jefferson, for example, wanted to keep artisans and their workshops in Europe. It was almost fifty years before other nationalities than the English and Scotch began to take an important rank.

The Coming of the Irish and the Germans. — The first marked invasion, that of the Irish and the Germans, opened about the middle of the nineteenth century. Many of the Irish stopped in the cities and sought employment as manual laborers, or went out into the construction camps where railways and canals were being built. The Germans, on the other hand, seemed at first to prefer farming. Perhaps a major portion of them went west and bought land or entered government domains opened to settlers.

The Homestead Law Stimulated Immigration. — There was a lull in immigration for a few years after 1860; even those who wished to escape from oppression and starvation in Europe did not relish the idea of going to a country engaged in a desperate war. The federal government therefore decided to make special efforts to encourage able-bodied foreigners to come to our shores. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided that aliens who declared their intention of becoming citizens could secure free homes in the West. This law also induced thousands of native laborers to move

IMMIGRANTS LANDING AT ELLIS ISLAND, THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION STATION

West to become farmers, thus leaving in the mills vacant places which attracted the operatives of Europe.

The Bureau of Immigration Established. — Two years later, in 1864, the government, still more anxious to increase the labor supply, passed a law making it legal for immigrants in Europe to pay their way over to the United States by pledging their wages in advance. Since a rush of foreigners was to be expected, this act provided that the President should appoint a Commissioner of Immigration to superintend the admission of aliens, and to protect newcomers from "sharpers" and thieves. As the authors of the law foresaw, the pent-up flood of migration broke forth again. Contractors sent agents abroad to secure laborers to work in the mines, on the railroads, and in the factories. These agents advanced money to the laborers to pay their passage, and bound them by contract to work for a certain number of months under orders until the money was paid back. Those who came under this arrangement were not unlike the bond servants who were brought into Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.

Immigration Immediately after the Civil War. *The Scandinavians.* — Western land, opened under the Homestead act, like a powerful magnet, drew thrifty peasants to our shores. For twenty years after the war, the Germans and the Irish made up the bulk of the foreign immigration; but many settlers came also from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. When Prussia with the help of Austria wrested Schleswig-Holstein away from Denmark in 1864, thousands of Danes fled to the United States. The Scandinavians took advantage of the offer of free land in the West and, by the thousands, settled in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. They developed prosperous farms, built schools and churches, and founded colleges. No immigrants to these shores proved to be more worthy of their heritage than the newcomers from Northern Europe.

The Chinese.—In this period the Chinese began to land in large numbers on the western coast. Indeed, as early as 1852, twenty-five thousand of them were already in California. The firstcomers were mainly domestic servants, laundrymen, and day laborers. When railroad construction began in the Far West, contractors, casting about for a labor supply, found it in China. Then Chinese immigration increased rapidly. Every inducement was offered to them to come, and they were cordially received. The Oriental, however, was willing to accept low wages, and so took work away from the native Americans or compelled them to reduce their demands in order to hold their places. As he was also willing to live in cheap houses and poor surroundings, he menaced the American standard of living. When American working men in large numbers began to

A Chinese Merchant in His Shop

settle on the coast, ill will toward the Chinese arose and steadily increased.

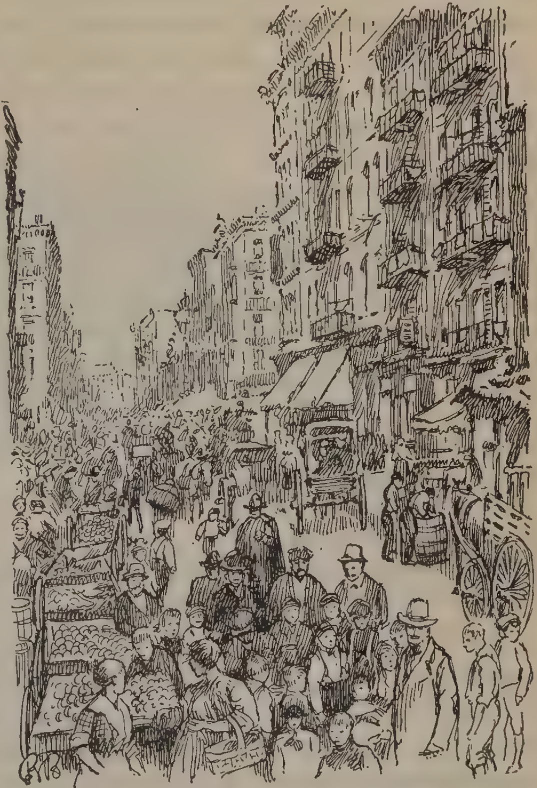
II. CHANGES IN IMMIGRATION AFTER 1890

The Invasion from Southern and Eastern Europe. *New Peoples.* — A second era in the history of immigration opened about 1890. The new period was marked, in the first place, by a decided change in the nationality of the immigrants. The number coming from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany fell off rapidly, and the proportion from Scandinavian countries did not increase. By 1896 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia greatly outnumbered those from the north and west of Europe, and in 1910 nine tenths of all the immigrants arriving in the United States were from the south and east of Europe. Jews, who by the tens of thousands were driven out of Russia and Rumania by cruel oppression, really had no choice but to flee to the United States.

The following table shows by decades the proportion of immigrants coming into the United States from the various countries of the Old World:

COUNTRY	YEARS				
	1861–1870	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
Austria-Hungary	0.33	2.60	6.70	16.00	24.40
German Empire	35.00	25.50	28.00	14.00	3.90
Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia .	.51	2.00	5.90	18.00	23.30
Russian Empire and Finland	.02	1.90	4.40	14.00	18.20
United Kingdom:	38.00				
England		15.60	12.00	6.00	4.40
Ireland		15.50	12.00	10.00	3.90
Other Countries . . .	26.14	36.90	31.00	22.00	21.90

The Later Immigrants Settle in the Cities.—The change in the nationality of the immigrants was accompanied by a great change in the United States itself; namely, the end of free gifts of land in the West. Between 1850 and 1860, out of the public lands there could have been provided nearly four hundred acres for every immigrant who entered the United States, and at least half of this land would have been fertile soil. By 1906, however, the amount of available public land per immigrant had fallen to less than seventy acres, a large part of which was semi-arid and consequently worthless without irrigation. In this period, therefore, the opportunities for securing free farms were almost closed to the immigrants from Europe.



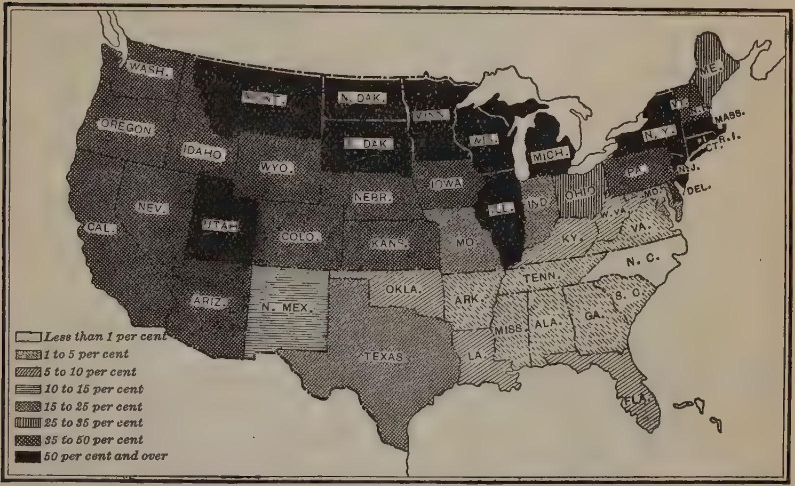
Mulberry Street, New York, Where Many Immigrants Have Collected

The newcomers had to settle in cities. The Russian Jews entered the ready-made garment trade in great centers like New York, Rochester, and Chicago. Hungarians, Italians, Slovaks, and Poles took up heavy tasks like mining and iron working, which called for more physical strength. Immigrants during this period built the railroads, developed the mines, manned the coke ovens and blast furnaces, made clothing, and, in fact, furnished the labor for most of the manufacturing in the country.

The immense and valuable labor services rendered by the aliens, men and women, are thus eloquently summed up by a modern writer who represents the immigrant as saying:

> I contribute eighty-five per cent of all the labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industries.
> I do seven tenths of the bituminous coal mining.
> I do seventy-eight per cent of all the work in the woolen mills.
> I contribute nine tenths of all the labor in the cotton mills.
> I make nineteen twentieths of all the clothing.
> I manufacture more than half the shoes.
> I build four fifths of all the furniture.
> I make half of the collars, cuffs and shirts.
> I turn out four fifths of all the leather.
> I make half the gloves.
> I refine nearly nineteen twentieths of the sugar.
> I make half of the tobacco and cigars.

Enormous Increase in Immigration. — A third great change in immigration was brought about by the improvement in the methods of travel. In former days, when the journey was long, expensive, and hazardous, the emigrants expected to leave their native land forever and to find permanent homes in the United States. When, however, it became possible to cross the Atlantic very comfortably, at a low cost, in six or seven days, and there were sailings every few hours, the ocean trip was a light matter. Great steamship companies, practically all of them foreign in ownership and utterly indifferent to the effects of their actions on America, began to force immigration. They sent agents into every nook and cranny of Europe with orders to encourage, even by gross misrepresentation, every person who could scrape together a little money to migrate to "the land of milk and honey." American railway companies, equally bent on making profits by carrying immigrants West and South, eagerly coöperated in tearing the laborers and peasants of Europe from their native lands and flinging them upon our shores.



PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE PEOPLE AND NATIVE WHITE PEOPLE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE CONTAINED IN THE TOTAL POPULATION

As a result of all these forces, the steerage of every incoming steamer was crowded with passengers. In 1907 there arrived in this country 1,285,349 immigrants. Thus, in one year, there was collected from the nations of southern and eastern Europe an army of immigrants equal to almost half of the white population of the United States when the War for Independence was fought. By 1910 one third of the total white population in the United States was either foreign born or of foreign parentage.

Many of the Later Immigrants Not Permanent Settlers. — Having brought their ships over crowded with steerage passengers, the steamship companies were equally anxious to find passengers to fill their vessels on the return voyage. Their prosperity depended upon a continual going and coming. The low rates made it possible for workingmen to come in the busy season and return in the slack season. This had a very serious effect upon citizenship in the United States. Thousands of men, leaving their wives and children behind them, came with no thought of giving up their allegiance to their former countries or of making homes in the United States. Their sole interest in this country was to get a job for a few months or a few years, and go back home when they had accumulated a little money. Having no intention of settling here permanently, they were willing to endure slums, long hours of work, and other conditions bad for their health and morals.

A City Street in a Tenement District

Having no permanent interest in this country, they did not care whether it was well or poorly governed.

III. Later Efforts to Restrict Immigration

Arguments for and against the Restriction of Immigration. — Native Americans early protested against the wide-open door for immigrants. Some of the objections which they advanced were foolish and some were wise; some were narrow and selfish; others were based, not on ill will toward the alien, but on the desire to make America a united nation, well governed and prosperous.

At the same time there were advocates of the wide-open door who objected to interference with immigration. Employers insisted that the supply of labor should be large and available as needed. Those who, like the Jews, had fled from persecution, were anxious that the door should not be closed against their countrymen yet to come. Advocates of freedom, looking upon America as "the asylum for the oppressed of every land," declared that it would be giving up our ancient principles to place bars in the way of the immigrant.

Nevertheless the protest against unrestricted immigration steadily grew. Anxiety about the matter appeared before the Civil War. It weakened with the demand of mill, mine, and railroad owners for labor. In a few years it grew stronger. Native American workingmen, East and West, began to demand protection against the foreigners who at lower wages took their places away from them. They urged that it was selfish and un-American to enact tariffs to shield American mill-owners against European competition, and at the same time to refuse to shield American labor against low-paid foreigners. Other citizens urged that the number of immigrants should not be too large, because it took time for foreigners to learn our language and to know enough about our country to share wisely in its government.

Laws Restricting Immigration. — When the Federal Government began to give attention to the matter, the Chinese were considered first. By a law of 1870 they were denied the right to become naturalized American citizens. In 1880, a treaty was made with China under which Chinese laborers could be excluded from the country, and two years later the first Chinese Exclusion act was passed.

In 1882 Congress discussed the whole question of immigration and passed a law whereby convicts (except political refugees), lunatics, idiots, and persons liable to become public charges were excluded from the country, and the owners of vessels were required to carry back at their own expense such persons.

Other laws were later enacted for the purpose of controlling immigration. In 1888 importation of laborers under contract was prohibited; that is, the old practice authorized by the law of 1864 was forbidden. This made it impossible for large importers of labor to break strikes and reduce wages by sending agents to Europe to collect workers. In 1891 persons having loathsome or contagious diseases were denied the right of admission to the country. Later, anarchists were excluded. In 1907 an arrangement was made with Japan for excluding Japanese laborers. In 1913, when the Department of Labor was created at Washington, the supervision of immigration and naturalization and the enforcement of immigration laws were turned over to it. In 1917 Congress enacted, over President Wilson's veto, a law imposing an educational test, which was designed to keep out illiterates and to reduce the number of immigrants.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. How large would the population of the United States have been in 1900 if no immigrants had been admitted to the country after the Revolution? 2. Chiefly from what countries did the immigrants come before the Civil War? 3. In what way did the Homestead Law influence immigrants? What other law was passed that encouraged immigrants to seek homes in this country? 4. From what countries did the immigrants come in largest numbers immediately after the Civil War?

II. 1. What changes in immigration began about 1890? 2. Why did the coming of large numbers of immigrants from southern Europe raise problems that had not confronted the country when the immigrants came chiefly from northern Europe? 3. Why did the immigrants after 1890 settle chiefly in the cities and the industrial districts? 4. How and why did the steamship and railroad companies encourage immigration? 5. What are the important differences between immigrants who come to make permanent homes and those who come merely to earn money and then return to their native countries?

III. 1. What groups of people protested against unrestricted immigration? For what reasons? Why did other groups wish to continue free immigration? 2. Why were the first restrictions on immigration aimed at the Chinese? 3. What other restrictions were made later?

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Find what kinds of immigrants have come to your locality in recent years, whence they came, and in what types of work they are chiefly engaged.

2. The text states that the law which requires immigrants to meet an educational test (that is, to show that they are able to read at least their own language) was passed by Congress over the veto of President Wilson. Discuss in class the advantages and disadvantages of an educational test for immigrants.

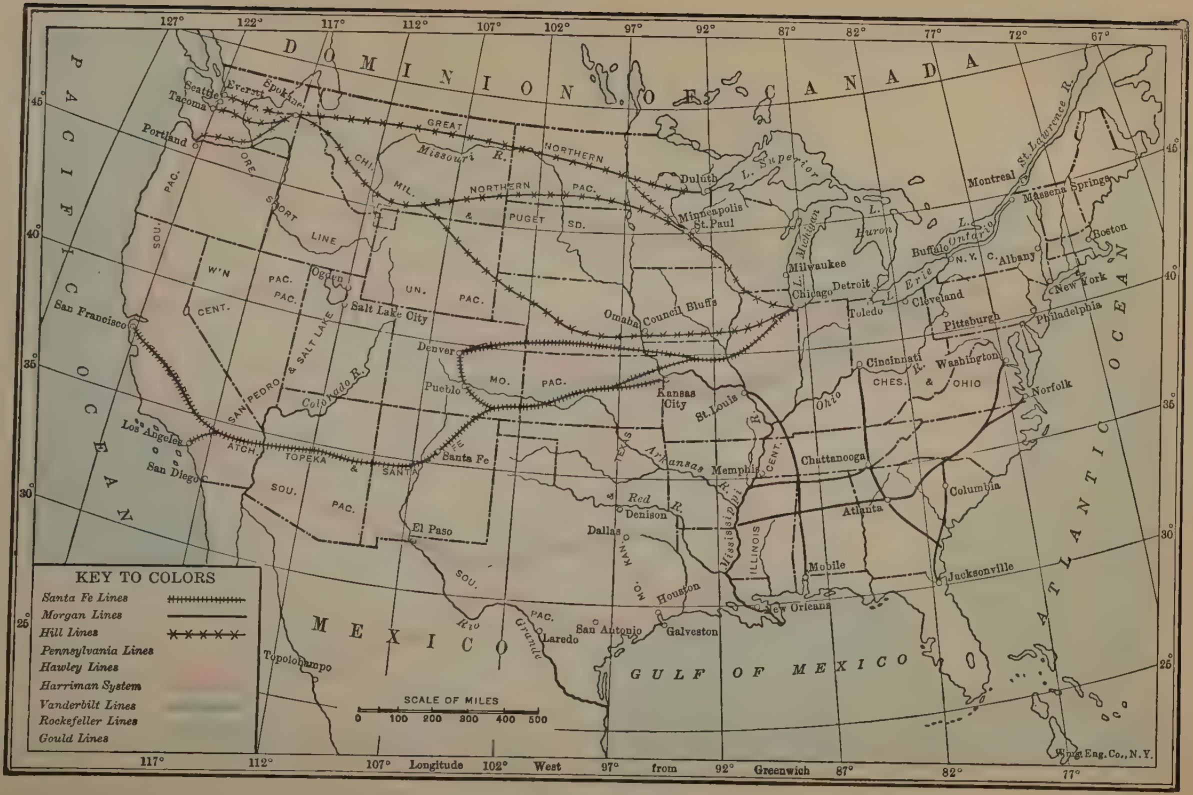
CHAPTER XXVII

COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL AND OF LABOR

I. Competition in Business Leads to the Formation of "Trusts"

The Great Industrial Trusts.— In the rush to develop the country in every direction, competition among business men became so keen that many of them were forced into bankruptcy. For example, there were several hundred refiners in the oil business, all of them turning out oil products in feverish haste. In time, of course, the market was clogged, prices fell, and many of the refiners were ruined. The destructive nature of this conflict, coupled with the desire to make larger profits by raising prices or reducing costs, led business men to form agreements or combinations known as "trusts." The term was applied because it was the practice of the men who united their concerns to place them in the hands of "trustees," chosen by the stockholders, and charged with the management of the entire business.

The Standard Oil Interests. — As early as 1879, oil producers in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and other places began to agree among themselves on prices. In 1882, under the leadership of John D. Rockefeller, they formed a "trust" which is known as the Standard Oil Company. Six years after its formation the Company was paying to a small group of holders about $20,000,000 annually, in dividends, on a capital of $90,000,000.



RAILWAY COMBINATIONS, 1910

Those who took part in this early combination soon began to invest in other concerns. In 1879 one of them became a director of the Valley Railroad; in 1882 another was elected a director of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad; in 1887 a third became connected with a syndicate which absorbed the Minnesota Iron Company; and about the same time representatives of the Oil Trust appeared in the Northern Pacific, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and the Ohio River railways. The same thing happened in the case of the stockholders of other companies, until scores of business concerns were brought together in one gigantic interest of which the Standard Oil Company was the center.

Other Trusts. — Within a few years after the establishment of the Standard Oil Company, combinations were formed in cotton oil, linseed oil, lead, sugar, whiskey, and cordage; and in a little time a few great financiers had large shares of stock in the companies manufacturing staples like iron and woolen goods. Indeed, by the close of the nineteenth century there was scarcely an industry of any importance which did not have a trust possessing enormous capital. For example, the Copper Trust, incorporated in New Jersey in 1899, had a capital of $175,000,000 within five years. The United States Steel Corporation, founded in 1901, led them all with its capital of $1,400,000,000.

Railroad Combinations. — The tendency toward the union of companies appeared also in the railroad business. Competing lines were often united under the same company to control freight and passenger rates, and great combinations were formed to purchase trunk lines through from the East to the West or from the North to the South.

By the close of the century there were several huge railroad combinations which controlled nearly all the important long lines in the United States. These were the Boston and Maine and the New York, New Haven, and Hartford in New England; the New York Central (Vanderbilt lines) and the Pennsylvania in the Middle States, running from the seaboard to Chicago and the Mississippi; the Gould lines running from Buffalo through Kansas City to Salt Lake and the Pacific Coast; the Morgan-Hill lines in the South and in the far Northwest; and the Harriman lines stretching from the middle Mississippi Valley to San Francisco, Portland, and Spokane, and from New Orleans to San Francisco.

The "Captains of Industry." — Out of the trusts and combinations great fortunes were made. Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, the Goulds and the Vanderbilts, to mention only a few, acquired riches such as had not been dreamed of before in the history of the world. Through their wealth they were able to control the life and labor of millions of men and women. They endowed schools, founded universities, built hospitals and libraries, and supported charities.

II. The Results of Combinations of Capital

The "Soulless Corporation." — The growth of large companies seriously altered the relation of employers and workmen. In the old days when the factory was small and was owned by one man, or at best a few men who lived near by, there was usually a certain personal and friendly tie between the employer and his employees. Sometimes the master actually worked in the factory side by side with his helpers and knew them by their first names. As the factories grew in size and passed into the ownership of companies — the members of which often lived in distant cities or even foreign countries — the plants were managed by overseers, and the personal relation between employer and employee was broken. People came to speak of corporations as "soulless." By that it was meant that they were purely business enterprises, and that the owners could not be reached by the employees struggling for better wages or shorter hours.

Protective Organizations of Employees. — While employers were combining their industries to stop destructive competition, workingmen were building up unions to prevent undercutting in wages. During the war, labor was scarce and wages high. A strong movement was therefore started to organize workingmen for the purpose of upholding the high wage scale. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was established in 1863, and the following year unions were formed among cigar makers, bricklayers, and masons. By 1866 thirty or forty different trades were formed into national unions, with branches all over the country. In 1870 and 1871 national labor-union conventions were held and attempts were made to create a strong society embracing all the workingmen and women of every trade.

The "Knights of Labor." — The task of forming the great national union was undertaken by "The Noble Order of Knights of Labor," founded in 1869 by a group of Philadelphia garment workers who wanted to unite all wage-earners in one body, without any distinctions of sex, trade, grade, color, or nationality. Within fifteen years, this organization had over 1,000,000 members.

The demands of the Knights of Labor were: (1) an eight-hour day for all working people, (2) laws guaranteeing them healthful and safe conditions in factories and mines, (3) weekly payment of wages in money, (4) payment of damages by employers to workers injured in industry, (5) the establishment of state and national labor bureaus, and other reforms. The Knights of Labor protested against the practice of state governments in hiring out prisoners to manufacturers and thus cutting the wages of honest people. They protested also against employers bringing in large numbers of European immigrants under contract (see page 498) in order to reduce home wages. The motto of the organization was: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

The Knights of Labor had great influence on the working people of the country. Although they did not start a new political party, they helped to secure from state and national governments several reforms. The Knights also led in several successful strikes against employers to increase wages; but they failed in a number of them. They then began to quarrel among themselves, and finally their national union went to pieces.

The American Federation of Labor. — Meanwhile, a second national labor organization, the "American Federation of Labor," was growing up. It was started in 1881, with the federation of unions in about one hundred different trades, and five years later took the name it now bears. The Federation, unlike the Knights of Labor, did not attempt to form into one grand union all sorts and conditions of working people. It began with the separate trades to organize men and women into district "locals," and it permitted the members of each trade to conduct their own negotiations with their employers. The Federation intervened only in emergencies. It did not undertake general strikes of all working people in order to help those of a single trade or locality.

By 1917 the American Federation of Labor had 2,359,812 dues-paying members. It had accumulated large sums of money. Under the leadership of its president, Samuel Gompers, it won much power over wages and hours of labor in the industries of the country.

The Federation's Influence on Politics. — Although the American Federation of Labor did not organize a separate political party, it often brought influence to bear upon the existing parties and compelled them to enact laws favorable to labor. For instance, in 1908 and 1912, Mr. Gompers asked the Republican and Democratic parties to support certain laws which the workers demanded. When the former party refused, and the latter made the desired promises, he asked the members of the American Federation to vote solidly for the Democratic candidate for President. Mr. Gompers boasted that eighty per cent of the voting members of his Federation cast their ballots for the Democratic candidate. Whether or not this estimate is accurate, it is certain that after the election of Mr. Wilson in 1912, the Democratic party passed some of the laws which the Federation of Labor had demanded. Thus, by threatening to use the labor vote for or against one or the other of the political parties, the Federation was able to secure a number of its measures. When the Department of Labor was created in 1913, an officer of the Federation was appointed as the head and was given a seat in the President's cabinet.

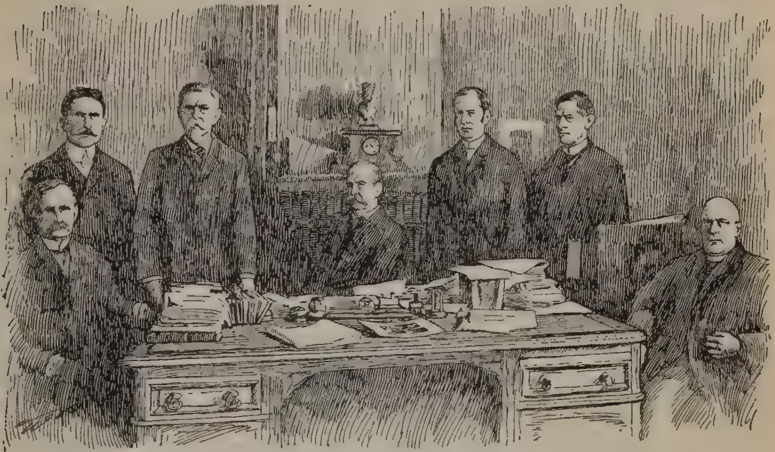
Employers' Organizations — While the trade unions increased in number and power, the employers of labor were forming organizations for the purpose of resisting some of the demands of labor and presenting to the public their side of the case. As early as 1825 an employers' association was formed in Boston. In 1872 more than four hundred employers organized a national association to oppose the attempt to establish a ten-hour day. After that time many other employers' associations sprang up. In 1903 there was established the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, a union of several national associations. Somewhat later the National Manufacturers' Association was founded. This Association engaged agents in order to block the efforts of working people to secure laws in their own interests, whenever such laws were considered injurious to employers.

III. The Great Strikes

Industrial Disputes. *The Strikes of 1877 and 1888.*—As employers and employees began to line up against each other, there arose many a costly and tragic struggle. In 1877 an appalling railway strike on the Pennsylvania and other lines resulted in the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property, including the railroad station at Pittsburgh. A few years later a veritable civil war broke out at the Carnegie iron works at Homestead, Pennsylvania. There was heavy loss of life on both sides, many of the strikers being killed by Pinkerton detectives employed by the mill owners. In 1886 strikes in Chicago manufacturing establishments led to collisions between police and workingmen, and ended in the famous Haymarket riot in which several policemen were killed by bombs. In the Far West, particularly in Colorado, Idaho, and Montana, miners and their employers were almost constantly engaged in combats over hours and wages, which were frequently accompanied by dynamite outrages, murders, and general lawlessness on the part of both contestants.

The Strike of 1894.—In 1894 there occurred the most alarming railway strike of the period. The employees of the Pullman Car Company at Chicago struck, and the American Railway Union, in order to help them, called a "sympathetic strike." In this dispute property was destroyed. The leader of the railway men, Eugene V. Debs, was imprisoned for disobeying a court injunction commanding workingmen not to interfere with the business of the companies. Finally, against the protests of the governor of Illinois, President Cleveland dispatched federal troops to the scene of trouble and the strike was broken.

The Public and the Government Involved. — For a long time, it was generally maintained that such conflicts were mere incidents in industry and concerned only employers and employees. Gradually this view disappeared. Strikes clearly involved the public at large as well as the actual combatants. When railways were tied up and mines closed, the public suffered. When disorders occurred, the lives and property of outside parties were endangered.



THE ARBITRATION COMMISSION APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO SETTLE THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE OF 1902

From left to right: Colonel Carroll D. Wright, Statistician; Mr. Thomas H. Watkins, Coal Operator; General John M. Wilson, U. S. A.; U. S. Senator George Gray of Delaware; Mr. Edward Parker, U. S. Geological Survey; Mr. Edward E. Clark, Chief of the Order of Railway Conductors; Most Rev. John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria.

Then, too, there were many questions involving the government, federal and state, directly. How far should the courts be permitted to go in ordering employees to do this or abstain from doing that in connection with strikes? Under what conditions should the militia or federal troops be called out, and what should they be permitted to do when called out? To what extent should the police be allowed to interfere with meetings held to help strikers? What should strikers be allowed to do to persuade other workers not to take their jobs? Should labor unions be given the right to exclude non-union men from any industry and thus maintain a "closed shop"?

The Demand from the Public for an Adjustment of Labor Disputes. — Many proposals were advanced with a view to solving the problem of strikes and labor disputes. In 1900 there was formed the American Civic Federation to bring together employers, professional people, philanthropists, and representatives of trade unions. The Federation recognized the right of working people to form unions and sought to make the disputes arising between employers and employees a subject for common consideration. Many citizens who had formerly denounced trade unions came to see in them an inevitable product of industrial progress. Moreover it became a matter of grave public concern whether any employers in the United States should be allowed to pay wages so low that their employees could not live decently and become respectable American citizens. The general public suffered from the inconvenience and losses of strikes and was compelled to pay the increased prices following higher wages. It therefore began to be deeply interested in the labor conflict.

Roosevelt's Policy. — Public interest in labor disputes became especially evident in the anthracite coal strike of 1902. The employers refused to listen to the demands of the miners, and as winter came on the country was confronted by a coal famine. As President Roosevelt said:

> The big coal operators had banded together and positively refused to take any steps looking toward an accommodation [with their employees]. They knew that the suffering among the miners

> was great; they were confident that if order were kept and nothing further was done by the government they would win, and they refused to consider that the public had any rights in the matter. . . . No man and no group of men can so exercise their rights as to deprive the nation of the things which are necessary and vital to the common life. A strike which ties up the coal supplies of a whole section is a strike invested with a public interest.

President Roosevelt was ready to use the soldiers to take possession of the mines and have the government run them, in order to supply the country with coal. He appointed a commission to consider the demands of the miners and the claims of the employers. As a result, a settlement of the strike was reached. This affair may be said to mark a turn in the course of labor disputes, because the general public at last realized that it had an interest in, and a certain responsibility for, a struggle between employers and employees. The public slowly learned that its responsibility involved supporting the demand for wholesome labor conditions.

IV. The Rise of Socialism

Many of the leaders in the labor movements became convinced that strikes, even when successful in raising wages or reducing hours of work, would not remove all the poverty and misery which accompanied the growth of industry. They, therefore, urged the formation of a political party which would bring about radical legislation in the interest of labor. As early as 1872 a party known as Labor Reformers held a convention at Columbus, Ohio, and nominated a candidate for President.

The Rise of the Socialists. — Two decades later there appeared in the country a socialistic party which appealed particularly to working people. While there was much difference of opinion among Socialists as to their plans, there were certain general ideas running through their writings: (1) Modern industry necessarily creates a division in the country into capitalists on the one hand, who own the factories, mines, and railways; and on the other hand a great mass of people, owning no tools, and solely dependent upon their labor for livelihood. (2) A struggle between these two classes is inevitable, because each seeks to secure all that it can from the annual output of wealth. (3) Out of this contest the owners of capital gain wealth, luxury, and safety; and the workers, poverty, slums, hazard, and misery.

The Socialists all agreed that the only solution of the problem was for the government to take possession of the natural resources and industries, forests, mines, railways, and factories, from which the rich were able to make such large fortunes, and to manage these great enterprises for the benefit of all. This meant a drastic interference with all private business and government ownership on a large scale. The Socialists did not propose, as persons sometimes imagined, to divide up all property equally among the people. As an example of their theory they cited the post-office, which is owned by the government and in the use of which all share alike. It is not "divided up."

Opposition to Socialist Theories. — The Socialists were strongly opposed by the other political parties, although many of the evils which they pointed out were admitted. Those who attacked socialism contended (1) that the American people were not sharply divided into capitalists and wage earners since the latter often own shares in industrial companies, government bonds, and homes, and nearly half of the people are farmers; (2) that the interests of employer and employee are mutual, not opposed; and (3) that American working people are the most prosperous in the world.

It was pointed out also that it would be difficult for the government to distribute the annual national income, in a fair and satisfactory manner, among those who labored at the various industries and occupations. If all were to share equally — the able and the stupid, the idle and the industrious — what incentive would there be for any individual to exercise his skill and energy? On the other hand, if incomes were to be unequal, according to what rules should the shares be apportioned? Many opponents of Socialism said that the Socialist notion, that all people could dwell together in harmony and coöperation, was contrary to the laws of nature, which decreed a constant struggle among mankind in which the weak were bound to lose and the strong destined to win.

The Growth of the Socialist Party. — There were many Socialists in the country before 1860, particularly among the German immigrants who came over in 1848. It was not until 1892 that a Socialist Labor party was formed and a candidate nominated for President. This party, however, never polled as high as a hundred thousand votes. It had been in existence only eight years when a second party, known as the Socialist party, was established. The new party in 1900 nominated for its candidate Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the great railway strike of 1894. By 1912 the Socialist popular vote had reached 898,000; but in 1916 it fell about twenty per cent. The refusal of the party, 1917, to support our war on Germany led many members to resign and discredited Socialist doctrines unrelated to the war.

New Aspects of the Capital and Labor Problem. — The twentieth century opened with the extension of conflicts between employers and employees into the field of government and politics. Both sides were powerfully organized. It is true that only a small proportion of the working people were actually members of trade unions — fewer than one tenth — and hundreds of small manufacturers remained outside of employers' associations; but in nearly all the great staple industries and the railways, strong organizations of labor and capital were in command. More and more their contests over wages and hours involved governmental action. All kinds of laws for the benefit and protection of both sides were proposed — the just and the unjust, the wise and the foolish. Political parties were urged to indorse them. State legislatures and Congress were besieged by agents of trade unions and employers supporting or opposing the various measures. The citizens at large were inevitably drawn into the controversies. In spite of the counsels of those who declared that industry was none of the government's concern, the voters at the polls were called upon to decide a multitude of matters involving labor and capital.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. What led to the combination of business concerns? How did these combinations come to be known as "trusts"? 2. Why did these trusts, once established, tend to reach out and gather up other lines of business? In what kinds of business other than oil production did the Standard Oil Company become interested? 3. Name some of the other great trusts. 4. Name some of the "captains of industry."

II. 1. Why did the growth of trusts lead to labor troubles? What is meant by a "soulless corporation"? 2. What did the workingmen do to protect their rights? What did the Knights of Labor hope to accomplish? 3. How does the American Federation of Labor differ from the older Knights of Labor? Who is the leader of the Federation of Labor? What important things has the Federation accomplished? 4. How did the employers try to block the efforts of the workers?

III. 1. What is meant by a "strike"? Where did some of the early strikes occur? 2. Why did the public claim a right to interfere in the conflict between capital and labor? 3. What was President Roosevelt's policy regarding the rights of the public in this conflict?

IV. 1. What is meant by "government ownership"? What business enterprises does the government now control? 2. What is the difference between government ownership and "dividing up" the wealth of the country equally among all of the people? 3. What does the Socialist party hold regarding government ownership?

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Find out about the development of the oil industry, — where petroleum is found, how it is brought out of the ground, taken to the refineries, and made into useful products. Make a list of the principal products. Give as many reasons as you can explaining why the oil industry was one of the first to be organized into a "trust."

Your geographies (look up the subject in the index) will give you much information about petroleum and its products. See also Mowry's "American Inventors and Inventions," pp. 77–80.

2. Look up the story of one of the great railroad systems. Discuss in class the advantages and dangers of combining short railroad lines into large systems.

Brigham's "From Trail to Railway" has interesting chapters on the New York Central (ch. v), the Pennsylvania (ch. vii), and the Baltimore and Ohio (ch. ix).

CHAPTER XXVIII

PARTIES AND POLITICAL ISSUES

I. THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS

Political Echoes of the Civil War. — For a long time after the Civil War, the politicians discussed principally "the Confederacy" and "the Rebellion." War talk was called "waving the bloody shirt," and as the leaders in politics devoted much time to it, it was difficult for the voters to think of anything else as more important.

The Republican Party in Power. — With Southern leadership broken and the Democratic party accused of having sympathized with secession, the Republicans had many advantages. They were able to carry every presidential election, except two, between 1860 and 1912. Shortly after the war they selected as their candidate General Grant, who was regarded as a great hero and, next to Lincoln, the savior of the Union. They elected him President in 1868; in 1872 reëlected him, the Democrats having attempted a stroke in choosing as their candidate Horace Greeley, the famous Republican editor of the New York *Tribune*.

The Hayes-Tilden Campaign. — In the midst of defeat, however, the Democrats never gave up hope. They made such a vigorous fight in 1872 that they secured a majority in the House of Representatives, and in the presidential campaign of 1876 they thought that they had carried the day. Indeed, the result of the election was very uncertain. Both parties claimed the victory, and the dispute grew so serious that Congress, to settle the quarrel, appointed a commission of fifteen members to examine the election returns. On this commission, the Republicans had a majority who voted solidly on important points in favor of the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, thus giving him the victory over Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate from New York.

Garfield Elected and Assassinated.—Naturally the Democrats were deeply angered with the decision, but they accepted it, hoping that the country would rebuke their opponents in the next campaign. In this, however, they were disappointed, because the Republicans in 1880 elected James A. Garfield by a safe majority over the Democratic candidate, General Hancock. President Garfield had hardly taken office before he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker; he died on September 19, 1881.

Cleveland Brings the Democrats into Power (1885).—Garfield's successor, the Vice President, Chester A. Arthur, was not able to win the united support of his own party, and in 1884 the Republicans brushed him aside, selecting as their candidate James G. Blaine of Maine. The Democrats savagely attacked Blaine and won a victory for their leader, Grover Cleveland, of New York, the first Democratic President since Buchanan's day. The triumph was a narrow one, however, and due not so much to the popularity of Cleveland as to a division in Republican ranks. Indeed, several prominent Republicans openly went over to the Democrats. On account of their

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desertion they were called "mugwumps" — from an Indian term meaning "big chief." It was alleged that the mugwumps felt themselves above the ordinary man who voted regularly with his party.

Cleveland Defeated by Harrison (1888) but Reëlected in 1892. — The Democrats, having carried the country once with Cleveland as their candidate, put him forward in 1888 and again in 1892. In the former year he was defeated by Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, the Republican candidate. In 1892 he was again elected President, over Harrison, by a very substantial majority.

The Return of the Republicans. *McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft.* — This proved to be the last Democratic victory for twenty years. In the next campaign, 1896, William McKinley, of Ohio, was victorious over the Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, and the Republicans were returned to power on March 4, 1897. They retained the presidency through the administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, until the inauguration of Wilson in 1913.

II. The Tariff and the Income Tax

The Tariff Issue since the Civil War. *The Protective Tariff.* — During all these administrations, Republican and Democratic alike, certain questions, or "issues" as they are called, stood foremost in the minds of the voters. The first of these was the tariff (p. 247). Just before the Civil War, the Democrats had succeeded in reducing the protective tariff very materially, and the Republicans, in 1860, had taken up the challenge by declaring in favor of protection. During the war heavy duties were levied upon imports for the sake of raising money to meet military expenses. After the war the Republicans kept many of these duties, on the ground that they protected the manufacturing industries of the country.

The question was discussed more or less in every campaign between 1860 and 1916, and it became what the politicians called a "burning issue" in 1888, 1892, and 1908. President Cleveland in a message to Congress in December, 1887, vigorously attacked the tariff. He denounced it as a "vicious and illegal and inequitable" system of taxation. In 1908 Mr. Bryan led in another spirited attack upon it. The Democratic platform declared in favor of the immediate reduction of import duties, particularly on the necessities of life and articles made in the United States by the great trusts.

The Various Tariff Bills. — In spite of all the agitation about the tariff, there were only six revisions of the customs duties between General Grant's second inauguration in 1873 and the close of President Wilson's first administration in 1917. These revisions were as follows: in 1883, under a Republican, President Arthur; in 1890, when McKinley, then a member of Congress from Ohio, introduced a very high protective measure which bears his name; in 1894, during President Cleveland's administration, when a slight reduction was made by the Wilson-Gorman Act in the duties on several important articles; in 1897, when the Dingley Tariff Act, passed by the Republicans, placed the duties in general at the highest point since the Civil War; in 1909, when the Republicans, in the Payne-Aldrich bill, made a general revision without material reductions; and, finally, in 1913, when the Democrats, under President Wilson's leadership, reduced the taxes on a large number of imports without, by any means, placing the tariff on a purely "revenue basis."

The Agitation for an Income Tax. — Closely connected with the problem of the tariff was the matter of the income tax — a tax taking a percentage of the income received by all persons, excepting those whose incomes were below a certain amount. During the Civil War the government had laid a tax upon incomes temporarily. Later, as the Democrats began to urge tariff revision, they declared that when duties were taken off the imports into the United States the loss of revenues should be made up by taxes on incomes. Some of them said that customs duties on sugar, coffee, tea, and the like were taxes upon poor people, based on the amount of goods consumed, not on incomes or wages — "ability to pay." They urged, therefore, that a part of the federal revenue should be derived from a direct tax on the well-to-do.

The Income Tax Declared Unconstitutional. — Accordingly when the Democrats revised the tariff, in 1894, they provided for a tax on every person having an income of more than $4000 a year. The next year, however, the Supreme Court of the United States declared the law to be null and void as violating the Constitution — much to the anger of the friends of the measure. In 1896 the Democrats put in their platform a plank favoring a tax on incomes, and their leaders never ceased to advocate it.

The Constitution Amended to Permit an Income Tax. — Many Republicans also agreed that an income tax was just and desirable, and President Roosevelt, in one of his messages, expressed himself in favor of it. In 1909, while the Republicans were in power, Congress passed the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, authorizing Congress to lay and collect income taxes. This amendment was duly ratified by a sufficient number of state legislatures and went into effect in 1913. The Democrats, once more in power, immediately took advantage of the new amendment. In that very year, at the time of revising the tariff, Congress laid an income tax.

The Tariff Still an Issue. — As a result of all this agitation and legislation it could hardly be said that anything was definitely settled with regard to the tariff. The Democrats, while severely criticizing the protective system, were by no means agreed on abolishing all protection for American manufacturers and producers. On the other hand, the Republicans, while in general favoring high tariff, often disagreed among themselves as to what industries should receive help.

The Tariff Commission. — On account of this difference of opinion within as well as between the two parties, a tariff commission, composed of a few special students of the subject, was established under Taft's administration. It was instructed to find out just how far American goods should be protected against foreign competition in order to permit manufacturers to make only "fair" profits. Under President Wilson a new commission was established in 1916. Thus it appeared that no political party favored the reduction of the tariff to such a point as to afford no aid at all to American manufacturers; namely, absolute free trade.

III. THE CURRENCY PROBLEM

The Redemption of the "Greenbacks." — Another public issue which occupied the attention of voters was the money problem. During the Civil War the government had issued many million dollars in paper money, known as "legal tender" or "greenbacks." This money, which was used to pay the soldiers and was received by the government for taxes and other purposes, was not redeemable in gold or silver; that is, the holder of a greenback dollar could not go to the United States Treasury and get a gold or silver dollar in return for it. As a result, this money declined in value until a greenback dollar was worth only sixty or seventy cents in gold or silver. Some of the leading men in the country favored the withdrawal of paper money altogether; others advocated continuing it in circulation; and still others held that it should be placed on a specie basis, whereby anybody who had a paper dollar could secure a gold dollar in exchange for it. In 1879 the greenbacks were made redeemable in coin.

The Problem of Silver Money. *Demonetization.*—A second phase of the money problem was the coinage itself. The Constitution of the United States gave Congress the power to coin money, and forbade the states to make anything but gold or silver coin the lawful money in the payment of debts. In 1792 the government began to coin these two metals at the ratio of 15 to 1; that is, on the theory that fifteen ounces of silver were worth one ounce of gold on the market. Later the ratio was changed to 16 to 1. Silver came to be worth more than this price, however, in the outside market in relation to gold; and as a result silver dollars almost dropped out of circulation. In 1873 Congress ceased making them, or demonetized them.

The Demand for Remonetization.—It happened about this time that the price of silver began to decline steadily. Rich deposits were discovered in the western states and in a few years it took twenty-two ounces of silver to buy one ounce of gold on the market. The owners of silver mines, finding the price of their product falling, demanded that the government should restore the silver dollar, remonetize it, by coining both gold and silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1. The advocates of the gold standard said that silver had fallen in market price so that it was impossible to coin it on the old plan. The advocates of silver replied that silver had not fallen, but that gold had gone up because the government had given it a monopoly and limited the market for silver.

The Controversy over the Silver Question. — The country at large was sharply divided over this question. Quite commonly, the farmers favored the free coinage of silver at the old ratio because they thought it would put more money into circulation and raise the selling price of farm products. On the other hand, the gold standard was favored largely by people who had money invested in business or in loans.

The money lender said:

> If you increase the amount of money by coining silver dollars you really take money away from me. For example, I lent money at a time when an ounce of gold was worth seventeen or eighteen times an ounce of silver, and now you propose that I should be repaid in silver dollars worth much less than the original amount which I lent; that is, in money with less purchasing power.

The farmer, on his part, replied:

> When I borrowed a thousand dollars on my farm, wheat was worth two dollars a bushel and I could pay the mortgage off with five hundred bushels; but now the price of wheat has fallen to one dollar, and, as a result, although the amount I owe is still one thousand dollars, it is two thousand dollars measured in terms of my labor — the wheat which I have produced.

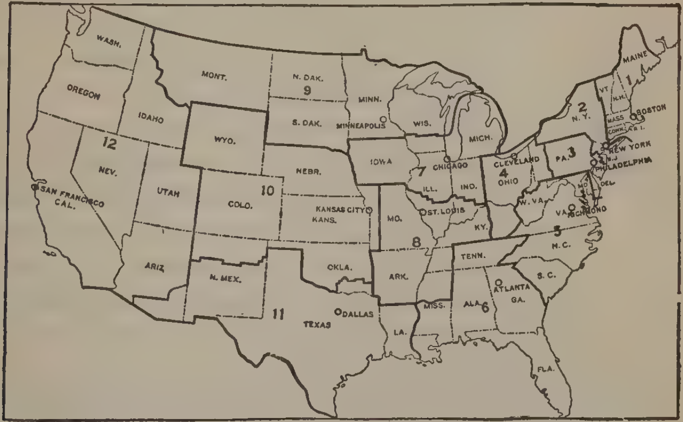
The "Greenback" and "Populist" Parties. — Many farmers and those who sympathized with them decided to go into politics and force Congress to pass laws increasing the amount of money in circulation. In the late seventies they organized a short-lived party of their own known as the "Greenback party" which favored continuing the issue of paper money, "greenbacks." In 1892 they established the Populist party which declared for free silver. In that year their candidate for President polled more than a million votes.

The McKinley-Bryan Campaign of 1896. *Bimetallism.* — This vote disturbed the Republican and Democratic parties, for each was afraid that it could not win without the support of the discontented farmers. Many prominent Republicans believed in the free coinage of silver, or "bimetallism" as it was called; but most of the free-silver advocates were Democrats. In 1896 the free-silver men were so numerous that they captured the Democratic party at the national convention at Chicago and nominated a young and courageous advocate of free silver, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. The Republicans came out in favor of the gold standard. Then followed one of the hottest political campaigns in the history of the country. There had been nothing like it, except in 1800, 1828, and 1860. The Republicans, with William McKinley as their candidate, were victorious. Four years later they passed a law making gold the standard for the whole monetary system of the United States.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

The "Federal Reserve" Banks. — Before many years had elapsed "the currency question" came up again in a new form. The men who had previously advocated free silver held to their old contention (1) that the money of the country was too largely concentrated in the hands of eastern capitalists, who could exact any rate of interest they pleased; (2) that there was not enough money in circulation to meet the needs of the farmers and small business men; and (3) that power over the whole monetary system was in the hands of private persons rather than of the government.

Many leaders in both parties were dissatisfied with the system and demanded currency reform. In response to this demand, Congress in 1913 passed a new banking law. Under this law the country was laid out into twelve great districts. In each district many banks were transformed into federal banks and one was selected as a Federal Reserve Bank. The control over the whole currency system was vested in a Federal Reserve Board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller, and five men appointed by the President and the Senate, with the power to issue money on certain conditions, and thus "expand" or increase the currency from time to time. It was thought that the leading currency problems would be solved (*a*) by securing federal government control; (*b*) by giving local banks a fair share in the management; (*c*) by distributing the "money power" over all sections of the country, to prevent concentration in New York City; and (*d*) by providing for the issue and withdrawal of notes to meet the demands of business.



FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICTS

IV. The Railroads; the Trusts; Civil Service Reform; the Liquor Question

Railway Regulation As a Political Problem. — A third great political question was the regulation of railways. At first the government had helped the railway companies with huge gifts of land and money, thus stimulating the rapid building of lines in all parts of the country. At the same time, the government had permitted the railroad managers to conduct their business in their own way — to issue worthless stocks and bonds and sell them to the innocent public, and to charge high freight and passenger rates.

There was accordingly much discontent among those who shipped goods or traveled. The farmers in the West, who depended almost entirely upon the railways for carrying their wheat, corn, live stock, and other produce to the distant eastern markets, began to grumble about "the extortions of railway companies." In the early seventies the farmers of several western states, among them Illinois and Wisconsin, forced the state legislatures to pass laws reducing freight and passenger rates. A state, however, could regulate only the carrying of goods or passengers from one point to another within its borders. The control of interstate commerce was given to the Congress of the United States under the Constitution.

The Interstate Commerce Law (1887). — Pressure was, therefore, put upon Congress to provide for regulating railroads engaged in interstate business. In 1887 Congress passed an important law creating a commission of five members to be appointed by the President and Senate. By this law and various amendments in later years, it was provided that the railroad rates should be reasonable and that the Interstate Commerce Commission should have the right to control the freight and passenger rates of all railroads engaged in interstate commerce. Thus a large power over the property of railroad companies was conferred upon the government commission. Many people called it a form of "socialism," because it amounted to such a drastic interference with private business. It was clear from experience, however, that the railroad companies could not be allowed to fix any rates they pleased and to run their business in their own way regardless of the public. The example of certain European governments which owned and operated the railways was cited by those who insisted that government regulation was only a mild form of public interference. On account of war conditions, the government, in December, 1917, took over nearly all the railroads for the time. This was confirmed by a law passed early in 1918, placing all railroads under government management.

Control of the Trusts a Political Problem. — A fourth issue akin to the railway question was that of controlling the "trusts." The small business men who were driven to the wall by these great concerns, and farmers and other consumers who were compelled to pay high prices for manufactures began to denounce the trusts in violent language. As a result of the criticism, Congress, in 1890, passed a law known as the Sherman Act, which declared illegal every combination to restrain and control trade or commerce among the states or with foreign nations.

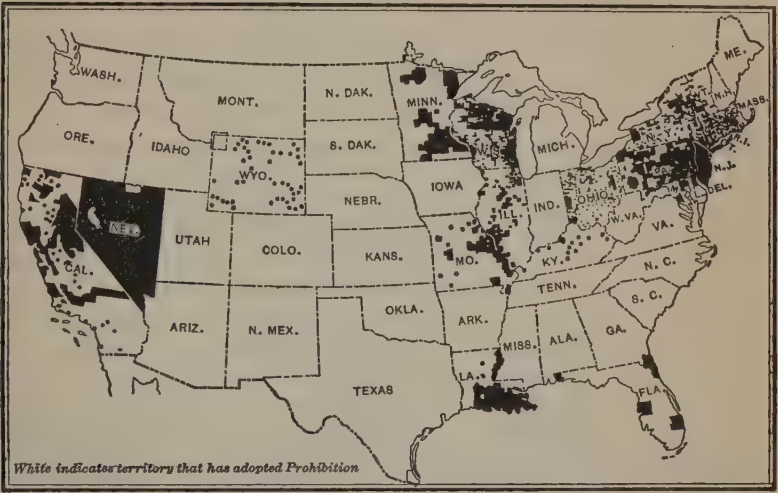
Anti-trust Legislation Generally Ineffective. — It was thought in this way that the government could break up the trusts by prosecuting the men who formed them. The law proved, however, to be a dead letter for many years, because almost no attempt was made to enforce it until the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Taft. Then a number of great concerns, such as the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco

Company, were prosecuted and ordered dissolved into many smaller companies. This by no means solved the trust problem. Even after the Democrats, in 1913, sought to make government control more severe by passing the Clayton Anti-trust Law, combinations and trusts continued to flourish as before. Competition among small business men, such as had formerly existed, was not restored. In 1914 a Federal Trade Commission was formed to supervise business concerns to prevent unfair practices.

Civil Service Reform. *Evils of the "Spoils System."* — A fifth political issue was that of civil service reform. As a result of "the spoils system" (p. 255), the management of public business was often in the hands of inexperienced people, who served for short terms and whose positions were insecure. Moreover, in each political party there was always a large body of men whose principal ambition was to get paying offices in the government. These men took part in politics all the time, attending primaries and conventions, helping to nominate candidates and win elections. Politics became a trade by which men made their living. The politicians looked upon the government as their private property and resented the interference of plain citizens. Government service was regarded, not as a dignified calling, but as mere spoils.

Naturally, there was much disapproval of this state of affairs. The critics of the "spoils system" contended that the government service should be put on a merit basis; in other words, (1) that men and women should be appointed to the lower government offices only after passing examinations testing their fitness for such places, and (2) that after they were appointed they should not be removed on any other ground than that of neglect of duty or incapacity. The politicians ridiculed the idea and called it "snivel service" and "goody-goody reform."

Garfield's Assassination Arouses the Country to the Need of Reform. — In 1881, however, the attention of the entire country was forcibly drawn to the matter when President Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office-seeker. Two years later Congress passed a civil service law (1) authorizing the President to appoint a commission to conduct examinations for admission to the government service, and (2) empowering him to designate, from time to time, groups and classes of federal offices that should be taken out of the spoils system and placed on the merit basis. From time to time Presidents increased the number of offices filled by examinations, and in 1916 out of more than four hundred thousand employees over half held positions subject to competitive appointment. There were still left, however, plenty of "jobs" to be distributed to party workers.



WET AND DRY TERRITORIAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL, 1918.
WHITE INDICATES PROHIBITION TERRITORY

The Liquor Question. — Attempts to prohibit the distilling and sale of intoxicating liquors began more than half a century ago. In the decade between 1850 and 1860, several states adopted prohibition. They all gave it up, however, in time, for one reason or another, and the temperance question was overshadowed by the slavery controversy.

The Growth of the Prohibition Movement. — In a little while it reappeared. In 1869 the National Prohibition Reform party was organized in Chicago, and in 1872 it nominated a candidate for President of the United States. From that time forward the Prohibitionists entered every presidential election. Their vote was never large enough to promise success, though in one campaign it reached almost a quarter of a million.

State after state, meanwhile, adopted state-wide prohibition:

Alabama
Arizona
Arkansas
Colorado
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Maine
Michigan
Mississippi
Montana
Nebraska
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Mexico
North Carolina
North Dakota
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Virginia
Washington
West Virginia
Wyoming

In other states great sections were made "dry" by what is called local option; that is, counties and towns by a popular vote decided to close saloons. An amendment to the federal constitution providing for national prohibition was passed by the required two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, in December, 1917, and sent to the states for ratification. The ratification of the amendment by the required thirty-six states was proclaimed on January 16, 1919.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. Why did the Republicans have an advantage over the Democrats in national elections for a long time after the Civil

War? 2. What man succeeded Andrew Johnson as President? 3. How was the presidential campaign of 1876 decided? 4. How did Arthur come to be President? What other Presidents have come into office in this way? 5. Who was the first successful candidate of the Democratic party after the Civil War? 6. Who were the "mugwumps" and why were they given this name? 7. What man held the office of President from 1889 to 1893? Who were the Presidents between 1897 and 1913?

II. 1. What position did the Democrats take regarding a protective tariff? What are the differences between a "protective" tariff and a tariff "for revenue only"? 2. What party was in power when the McKinley tariff bill became a law? the Wilson-Gorman bill? the Dingley bill? 3. What important changes were made in the tariff during President Wilson's first administration? 4. What is meant by an income tax? When did the government first levy income taxes? What were the provisions of the income-tax law of 1894? What party had secured the passage of this law? Why did it not go into effect? 5. How was the income-tax problem finally solved? 6. In whose administration was the first tariff commission established? What were to be the duties of this commission?

III. 1. Why were the "greenbacks" issued? How did they differ from the paper money that is used in this country to-day? Why did they depreciate in value? During what preceding period in our history had the government issued paper money similar to the greenbacks? (See Chapter XIV.) 2. How was the greenback problem finally solved? 3. What is meant by the statement that the government first coined silver at the "ratio of 15 to 1"? When the ratio was changed to "16 to 1" did the silver miners receive more or less gold from the government for their product? For what other purposes is silver used in addition to making coins? What would be the effect if those who used silver in other ways offered the miners more than the government offered for making it into money? 4. Suppose, however, that new mines were opened and that the supply of silver suddenly increased; what would happen to the price of silver in market? How did the actual ratio of silver to gold change when the new mines in the West began to produce large quantities of silver? Why did the miners, then, wish to have the government buy silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1? Why did the farmers join with the miners in this request? 5. Which of the two political parties in 1896 favored this "free" coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1? Who was the candidate of this party? Who was his opponent and how did the election turn out? 6. What led to the establishment of the Federal Reserve banks? In what way did these banks help to solve the currency problem?

IV. 1. In what ways had the government aided in the construction of railways? 2. What control, if any, did it have in return over the operation of the railways, the sale of stock, the rates for carrying freight and passengers, and other matters of public interest? 3. Why was the control of the state governments over these matters not wholly satisfactory? 4. What commission was established by law in 1887? What powers were given to this commission? 5. Why did the control of the trusts become an important national problem? How did the Sherman act attempt to solve this problem? What, in general, has been the result of the "anti-trust" legislation? 6. What is meant by the "spoils system"? In connection with what administration have we already learned something of this system? (See Chapter XIV.) How did the assassination of President Garfield attract public attention to the evils of the system? What important law was passed to correct these evils? If you should wish to secure an appointment in some branch of the government service now, what steps would you take? 7. What progress had the prohibition movement made before the Civil War? Can you think of any reasons why the war should have temporarily halted this movement? When was the prohibition amendment passed by Congress? When was it ratified by the States?

Problems for Further Study

1. The presidential election of 1876 was the only one in our history the results of which have been seriously disputed. An interesting account of the campaign, the election, and the final decision of the electoral commission will be found in Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. ii, ch. xi.

2. Next to slavery, the tariff has been most frequently a "burning issue" of national politics. Give as many reasons as you can explaining why this issue has caused so much discussion.

See especially Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. ii, ch. xiii.

CHAPTER XXIX

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

I. CONTROVERSIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN

The Alabama Affair. — During the Civil War and the three decades following it, there were several controversies with Great Britain.

The first grave difficulty arose out of "the *Alabama* claims." During the Civil War agents of the Confederate government were permitted to purchase warships in Great Britain, contrary to the rules of international law. One of these ships, the *Alabama*, built in Liverpool, for a long time preyed on merchant vessels, destroying goods and shipping and causing heavy losses to American citizens. The United States lodged a protest with the British government, declaring that it was responsible in allowing the *Alabama* to clear for the high seas. When the English government disclaimed responsibility in the matter, many leaders in this country insisted that our answer should be a declaration of war. Fortunately rash counsels did not prevail in either country.

Arbitration of the Dispute. — In 1871 an agreement was made with Great Britain to submit all questions in controversy to a tribunal composed of five arbitrators to be selected by the President of the United States, Queen Victoria, the King of Italy, the Emperor of Brazil, and the President of Switzerland. This tribunal sat at Geneva and reviewed all the disputes between the United States and Great Britain. It awarded the sum of fifteen million dollars to the United States to cover the estimated losses of American citizens from ravages of Confederate ships built in England.[1]

The Venezuela Affair. — The second difficulty with Great Britain occurred in 1895. For a long time Venezuela and Great Britain had been disputing about the boundary line between the former country and British Guiana. The United States, on the appeal of the South American republic, had taken an interest in the quarrel on the principle announced in the Monroe Doctrine, namely, that the United States would not permit any European power to acquire more territory in the Western Hemisphere. Great Britain asserted that she was not attempting to acquire any new territory, but was merely claiming what lawfully belonged to her, and that the Monroe Doctrine was not involved. When England and Venezuela came to a deadlock, and Great Britain rejected the suggestion of our Secretary of State, Richard Olney, that the dispute be arbitrated, the affair reached a critical stage.

Cleveland's Message to Congress. — President Cleveland, in his message to Congress in December, 1895, asked that a commission be created for the purpose of ascertaining the true boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana; and then he added in a very determined manner that it would be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power any attempt of Great Britain to hold lands which this American commission might decide to be

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[1] Another dispute that arose during the Civil War was with France. While the United States was engaged in the war, Great Britain, France, and Spain tried to force Mexico to pay her indebtedness to citizens of those countries. France finally sent an expedition to Mexico, overthrew the government, and established Maximilian, a brother of the Emperor of Austria, as Emperor. In 1865 Secretary Seward demanded the withdrawal of the French troops, and the French Emperor (Napoleon III) finally recalled them. The Mexicans then dethroned Maximilian, and restored their own government.

Venezuelan territory. He went on to hint that war might result.

England Submits the Question to Arbitration. — President Cleveland's vigorous message was approved by many American citizens, but it was severely criticized by others on the ground that it might bring on a needless war. It was a matter for general surprise when Great Britain, instead of refusing to permit interference by the government of the United States, aided the American commission in its search for evidence as to the truth about the boundary in question, and finally yielded to the proposition that the whole matter should be arbitrated. As a result, the quarrel which brought the two countries to the very verge of war was happily settled. The tribunal of arbitration met at Paris in 1899. Ex-President Harrison was the lawyer for Venezuela. The court of arbitration, after going into the matter carefully, rendered a decision which was, on the whole, favorable to Great Britain. The affair was brought to an end, President Cleveland receiving praise for his independence, and Great Britain finding consolation in getting nearly everything she claimed.

Difficulties with Canadians Arbitrated. — Equally fortunate was the peaceful settlement of several controversies with Canada, particularly over the right to catch seals on the western coast, the fisheries along the eastern coast, the navigation of the Great Lakes, and above all, the Alaskan boundary. The boundary question was submitted to arbitration in 1903, and the claims of the United States, except in a few details, were approved as correct, the British commissioner taking the American side. The victory by the United States was regarded by many Canadians as unjust, but it was accepted by them with good grace.

II. SAMOA AND HAWAII; THE GROWTH OF FOREIGN TRADE

The Controversy with Germany over Samoa. — While the English and Americans were settling their quarrels by peaceful means, important events were taking place in the Pacific Ocean. Far away to the southwest, nearer to Australia than to the United States, lay the Samoan Islands, inhabited by a number of half-savage tribes with whom the various civilized countries of the world carried on more or less trade. As early as 1878, the United States had made a treaty with a petty king in Tutuila, and secured a naval base in the harbor of Pago Pago in exchange for an agreement to lend assistance to him in time of need.

A few years afterward a native king, Malietoa, got into a quarrel with the German consul, who had raised his country's flag there, and a number of sailors who landed from a German battleship in the harbor were killed. The British government, which had watched with alarm the conduct of Germany in the Pacific, and the government of the United States, equally anxious, sent warships to the Islands. There was some fear that war would result, but better counsels prevailed, and in 1889 the United States joined with Great Britain and Germany in a protectorate over the Samoan Islands. This did not prove to be satisfactory. Ten years later the plan was abandoned, and the United States obtained outright possession of the Island of Tutuila, thus securing an important naval base in the southwestern Pacific.

The Hawaiian Question. — The acquisition of Tutuila awakened a new interest in the Hawaiian Islands, which lie about half way between Samoa and San Francisco. For a long time American missionaries and traders had been at work in those islands, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the Americans had more influence there than the agents of any other government.

The Annexation of Hawaii. — In 1893 some Americans in Hawaii, aided by a few natives, alleged that the queen, Liliuokalani, was ruling in an arbitrary manner, and started a revolt against her at Honolulu. They organized a government of their own, under the protection of United States marines then stationed on a warship in the harbor, and sent agents to the United States asking for annexation. President Cleveland, however, thought that this action by the Americans in Hawaii was very high-handed; and he steadily refused to lend support to the plan. It was not until the summer of 1898 that Congress by joint resolution declared the Hawaiian Islands to be a part of the United States. Not long afterward they were organized into a regular territory, governed by a legislature locally elected and a governor appointed by the President and Senate of the United States.

American Industries Seek Foreign Markets. — Until the closing years of the nineteenth century the attention of our people had been centered largely on home affairs: the abolition of slavery, the construction of railroads, the development of western lands and mineral resources, and the upbuilding of industries of every kind. Before the inauguration of President McKinley, in 1897, practically all of the arable western farming lands had been occupied, and the great industries, having supplied the home demand for staple commodities, were prepared to sell immense stocks abroad wherever markets could be found. In other words, in her industrial growth the United States had arrived at a point which England had reached many decades before. American business men were looking abroad for new markets in which to sell their products, and new opportunities to invest capital in profitable enterprises.

III. The Cuban Revolt Leads to the Spanish-American War

The Cubans Revolt against Spain. — In 1895 there broke out another terrible revolt in the island of Cuba, which was marked by extreme cruelty on both sides and by great loss of lives and property. The leader of the rebels ordered the destruction of plantations, burned sugar factories, and laid waste thousands of acres of valuable lands owned by Americans. What he left undone was finished by the Spanish general, Weyler, who not only destroyed property but gathered up the rural inhabitants and forced them to live in military camps, where they died of disease by the hundreds. Business was paralyzed, and American trade worth over one hundred millions annually was almost ruined. In a little while American citizens had filed claims against Spain amounting to millions of dollars for property which, they alleged, had been destroyed.

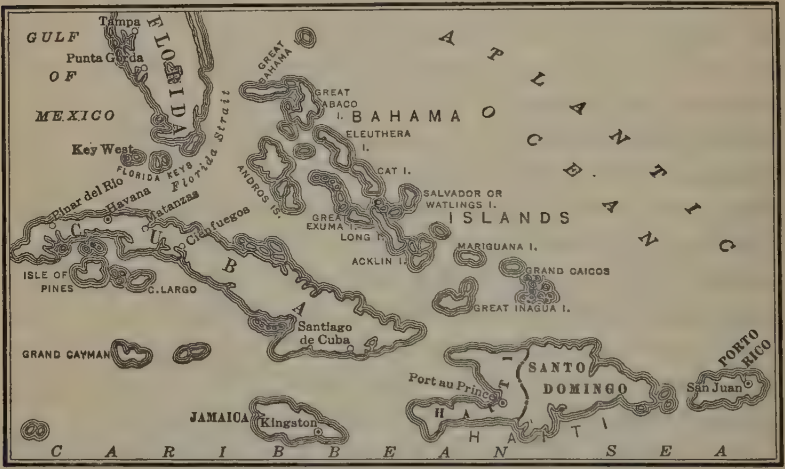
America Sympathizes with the Cubans. — The cruelties of the Spanish generals stirred the sympathy of the American people. Sermons were preached against Spanish rule; orators declared that the Cuban people should be aided in their "heroic struggle for liberty"; and radical newspapers demanded that the government of the United States intervene at once to secure Cuban independence. Cuban agencies were formed in American cities to raise money and secretly ship supplies and arms to the revolutionists. Many adventurous American citizens joined the Cuban army.

McKinley Protests to Spain. — During the presidential campaign of 1896, the Cuban revolt was discussed along with other issues. The Republicans complained that Spain was unable to protect the property or lives of American citizens residing in Cuba, and declared that the American government should offer to mediate between Spain and the insurgents. President Cleveland assumed an attitude of neutrality, although he did suggest, without avail, that an attempt should be made to settle the quarrel by mediation. The new President chosen in 1896, McKinley, shortly after his inauguration protested to Spain against her policy in Cuba and demanded that order be restored.

The "Maine" Blown Up. — The United States and Spain were engaged in exchanging letters on Cuban affairs when, on February 15, 1898, the battleship *Maine*, which had been sent by President McKinley to protect Americans in Havana, was blown up in the harbor, and two officers and two hundred fifty-eight members of the crew were killed. The tragedy stirred the country from coast to coast. People in the streets began to wear buttons bearing the legend, "Remember the *Maine*," and the advocates of war redoubled their demands for immediate action. Although Spain denied having any official knowledge of the cause of the explosion which wrecked the *Maine*, and the charge was never proved, many American citizens believed that Spanish officers in Cuba had been responsible for it.

The Popular Demand for War. — For some time negotiations continued between the United States and Spain. The Spanish government made many promises. It agreed to restore peace in Cuba, to permit the establishment of a Cuban parliament, and to grant a certain amount of self-government to the Cubans. In short, the Spanish government claimed that it had yielded to the Cubans everything except complete independence, and had met all the demands made by the United States. President McKinley, however, refused to believe in the Spanish promises. He was urged on every hand to break off negotiations and drive Spain from the Western Hemisphere.

War with Spain (1898). — On April 11, 1898, President McKinley sent a message to Congress saying that the time had come to suppress the disorders in the island, and to protect American lives and property there. On April 19 Congress declared that Cuba should be free, that Spain should be compelled to withdraw, and that the President should be empowered to use military and naval forces to bring Spain to terms. While in fact declaring war on Spain, Congress added that the United States had no intention of exercising any control over Cuba except to establish peace there and would withdraw when freedom and order were secured.



Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE WEST INDIES

Dewey's Victory at Manila Bay. — In the war which followed, the most dramatic events occurred on the sea. Admiral Dewey, in command of the Asiatic squadron of the American fleet, had been instructed, in February, to hold his ships at Hongkong and be ready at any time to sail for the Philippines. On receiving news that war was declared, Dewey left the Chinese waters and steamed into Manila Bay on the evening of April 30. Early on the following morning he opened fire on the little Spanish fleet under the guns of the forts at Manila. Within a few hours he had destroyed the enemy's warships, killed nearly four hundred men, and silenced the shore batteries, — all without the loss of a single American sailor. News of the extraordinary venture reached the United States by way of Hongkong, on May 6, and the hero of the day was by popular acclaim given a place among the immortals of American naval history.

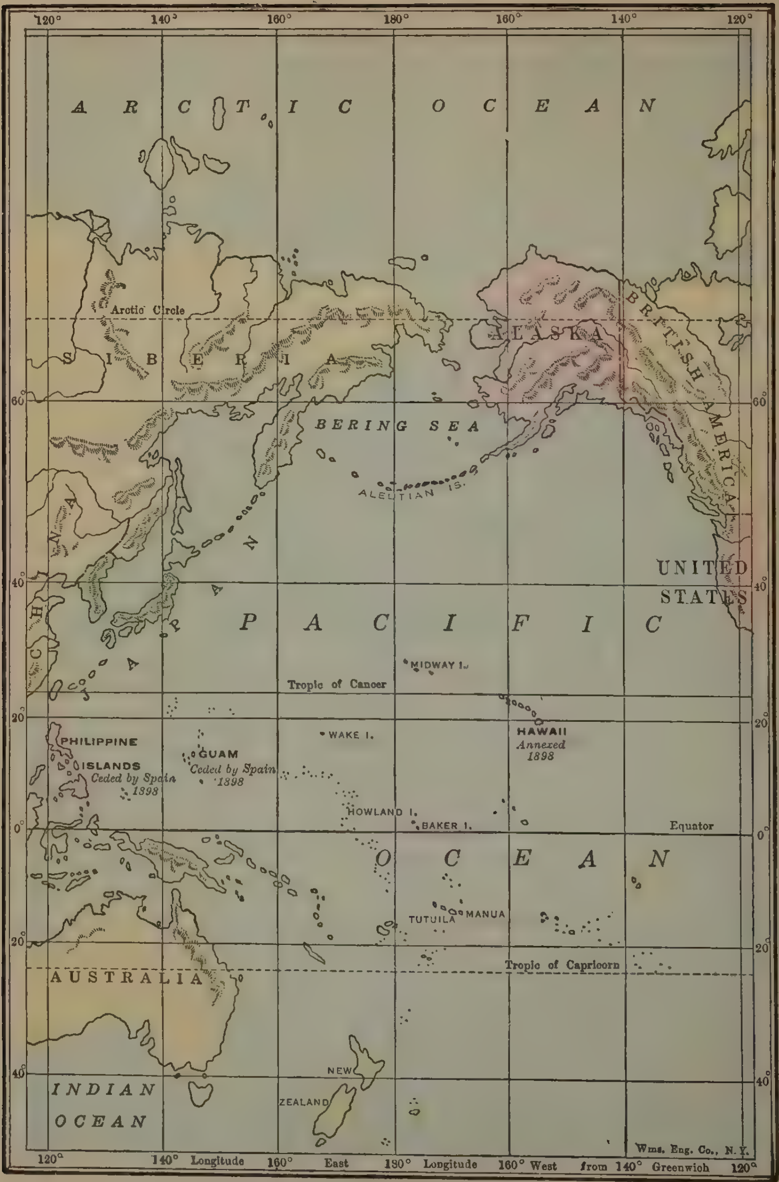
The Blockade of the Cuban Ports. — Meanwhile great events were taking place nearer home. Rear Admiral Sampson, in charge of the Atlantic squadron, had blockaded the coasts of Cuba and had begun to watch for the Spanish fleet which was on the way to Cuba. Nevertheless the Spanish admiral, Cervera, was able to slip into the harbor of Santiago on May 19, where he was at once bottled up by American ships. The battleship *Oregon*, which was on the Pacific coast at the outbreak of the war, made the long voyage around Cape Horn, and, "as trim as a yacht," joined the American ships in the Atlantic.

El Caney and San Juan Hill. — In a short time after the arrival of Cervera the American troops, principally soldiers from the regular army, embarked from Tampa, Florida, where they had been concentrating for several weeks. They reached Cuba on June 22, and opened a campaign under General Shafter. The most serious battles occurred at El Caney and San Juan Hill, two strategic points near the city of Santiago. It was at the second of these places that the famous Rough Riders — a regiment organized by Colonel Roosevelt — distinguished themselves. After several engagements, in which the fortunes of the day were generally on the side of the Americans, preparations were made for the storming of Santiago.

The Spanish Fleet Destroyed off Santiago. — The Spanish fleet attempted to escape from the harbor of Santiago, on the morning of July 3, and was completely demolished by the American battleships in immediate charge of Commodore Schley. Within a few hours all the Spanish ships were destroyed or captured, with a loss of about six hundred killed and wounded, while the Americans had only one man killed and one man wounded. This naval victory marked the doom of Santiago, although it did not surrender formally until July 17, after two days' bombardment.

The Attack on San Juan Hill, an Important Point near the City of Santiago

The Invasion of Porto Rico. The Peace Protocol. — The fall of Santiago ended the war in Cuba, and General Miles was sent to the neighboring island of Porto Rico to destroy Spanish dominion there. His troops were rapidly gaining headway, without having to fight any battles, when the news arrived on August 12 that steps had been taken to restore peace between Spain and the United States. On that day Spain, acting through the good offices of the French ambassador at Washington, had agreed that Cuba should be free, that Porto Rico should be ceded to the United States, and that Manila should be occupied by American troops,



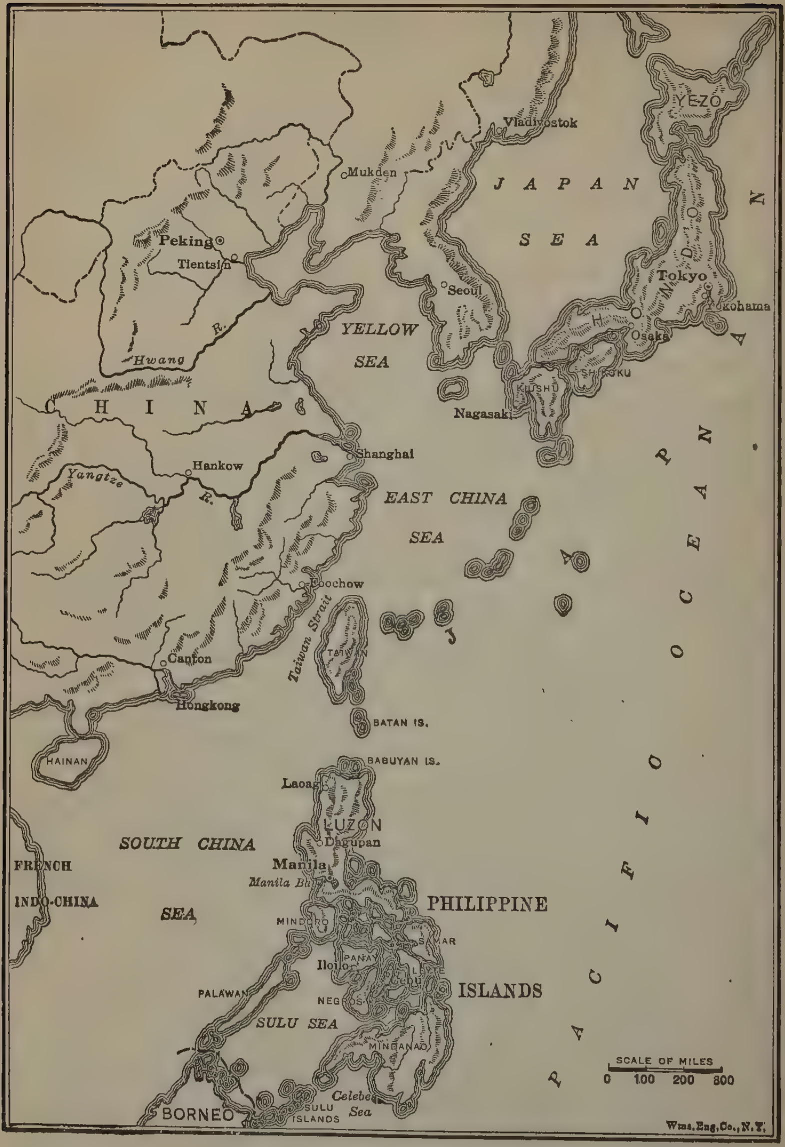
American Dominions in the Pacific

pending the final settlement. Unfortunately the news of this preliminary peace plan did not reach Manila until after more blood had been shed. On August 13, the day after the signing of the peace protocol, the American troops under the direction of Admiral Dewey and General Merritt took Manila by storm.

IV. THE RESULTS OF THE WAR; AMERICA'S NEW INTERESTS IN THE ORIENT

The Acquisition of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Guam. — The final terms of peace between the United States and Spain were arranged by agents of the two countries who met at Paris on October 1, 1898. There was general uncertainty at first as to what should be done with the Philippine Islands, of which the American people had little knowledge at the outbreak of the war. Some citizens were opposed to the idea that the United States should follow in the footsteps of the conquering nations of the Old World and hold "imperial" dominions far across the seas. Others, however, declared that the American trade and commerce in the Far East would be aided by having a strong naval base near the Asiatic coast. It was contended that we had got into the Philippines and could not very well withdraw. At all events, the final treaty of peace, drawn up at Paris, provided that Cuba should be free, and that Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam should be ceded to the United States.

The Filipinos Resist American Rule (1899–1902). — Before the treaty of peace was ratified, a rebellion broke out in the Philippines. For a long time the native Filipinos had been dissatisfied with Spanish rule. Just before the war began between Spain and the United States, there had been a rebellion under the leadership of a champion of Philippine



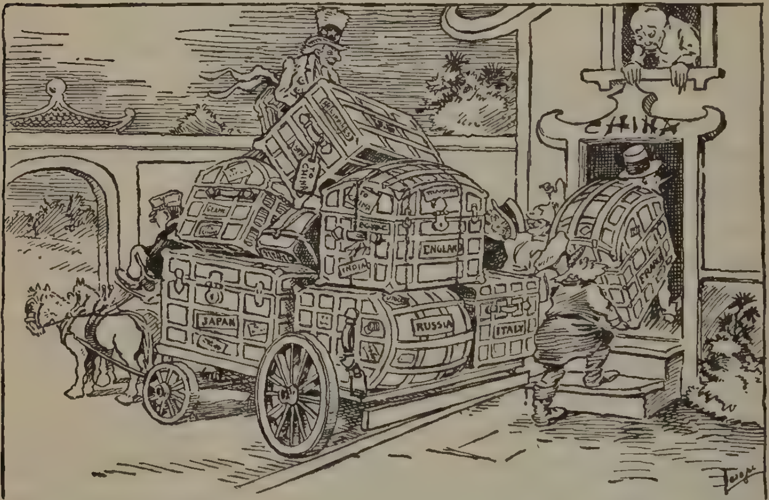
THE ORIENT AND THE PHILIPPINES

independence, Aguinaldo. When the American troops stormed Manila, Aguinaldo and his followers, gathered under the banner of the Philippine Republic, had been invited to take part, and had distinguished themselves by great valor. When the native leaders heard in January, 1899, that the United States did not intend to grant them independence, but proposed to hold their islands as American territory, they were surprised and bitterly disappointed.

On February 4 trouble broke out between the American soldiers and the Filipino troops. This affair marked the beginning of a rebellion which lasted nearly three years. During the struggle there were not many pitched battles. Most of the fighting occurred in wild, out-of-the-way places where the native troops picked off small bands of American soldiers or were destroyed by American regiments. Cruel deeds were committed during the war, and the whole affair made many citizens wonder whether this new " imperialism " was in accord with American ideals of independence and self-government.

The Boxer Rebellion in China (1900). — Soon after the United States had annexed the Philippine Islands, it took another step in world politics, namely, helped in suppressing a revolt in China. In 1900 a number of Chinese, known as " Boxers," who resented the constant interference of European powers in the affairs of their country, rose in rebellion and killed the German ambassador and a large number of foreigners at Pekin. Immediately the United States joined Russia, England, France, Germany, Japan, and other powers, in sending soldiers to suppress the Boxer Rebellion.

The expedition was easily successful, and when order was restored the Chinese were compelled to pay a huge sum for damages done to the foreigners. Unlike several of the powers of the world, which had seized Chinese lands and were ready to take more, the government of the United States advocated merely equal and impartial trade with China for all countries — an "open door." Moreover, the United States, finding that the damages awarded to it in the settlement were greatly in excess of the losses actually incurred, instead of merely pocketing the difference,



From the Detroit "Evening News"

"Going to Stay a While"

A cartoon of the expedition into China, 1900.

as did the other nations, decided that it should be used for the education of Chinese in American schools.

"Imperialism" a Political Issue. — All these stirring events beyond the seas naturally awakened deep interest and anxiety at home, and, in the presidential campaign of 1900, "imperialism" — the use of strategy and force to acquire territory and trade abroad — was everywhere discussed. The Democrats, under the leadership of their candidate, Mr. Bryan, attacked the Republicans, saying that they had departed from the ideals of the Fathers of America and were following in the footsteps of old Rome by conquering and ruling subject races. The Democrats also criticized the government for waging war on a people who were striving for the right of self-government, and declared that independence at a very early date should be promised to the Filipinos.

The Republicans, on their part, replied that (1) the Philippine Islands had fallen to the United States as an unexpected result of the war; (2) there were many different tribes and peoples in the islands in all stages of civilization, who were not prepared at all for self-government; (3) for the United States to abandon them would make the islands the prey of any covetous power; and (4) the best thing to do was to help prepare the natives for self-government by introducing order, education, trade, and industry. The Republicans were victorious in the election of 1900, and naturally assumed that the country had approved their imperial policies.

William Jennings Bryan Lecturing at a Chautauqua Meeting

American Developments in the New Territory. — As soon as order was restored in any of the provinces of the Philippines, the United States established civil government and attempted to improve the condition of the masses. A great educational plan was formed, and hundreds of American teachers were sent over to give instruction to people who had never before known how to read and write. Highways and railroads were built; improved methods of cultivating the soil were introduced; and many new industries were established.

In 1907 the Filipinos were granted a share in their own government. A large number of the native men were given the right to vote and to elect delegates to a general assembly in which many matters of local importance could be decided. The governor of the islands and the members of the upper house of the legislature, however, were to be appointed by the President and Senate of the United States.

About the same kind of government was set up in Porto Rico. Native men having certain qualifications were granted a share in making laws, while the final control was reserved to persons chosen by the government of the United States.

More Home Rule in the Dependencies. — Notwithstanding their defeats on the issue of "imperialism," the Democrats never ceased to advocate Philippine independence and more home rule for Porto Rico. When they came to power in 1913 they immediately began to plan reforms for the dependencies. In 1916 Congress passed a law which declared that it was the intention of this country to grant independence to the Filipinos when they were ready for it and which at the same time gave the native voters the power to elect the upper as well as the lower house of the legislature. In 1917 a similar change was made in the government of Porto Rico, coupled with universal manhood suffrage.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. What is meant by arbitration? How were the claims of the United States against Great Britain for damages done by Confederate cruisers settled? 2. Why did President Cleveland feel justified in interfering in England's controversy with Venezuela? How was war with England avoided at this time? 3. What difficulties between this country and Canada were settled by arbitration?

II. 1. Locate the Samoan Islands. How did the United States come into possession of the Island of Tutuila? 2. Why was the possession of the Hawaiian Islands important to the United States? In what way did the American residents in Hawaii attempt to secure the Islands for this country? What was President Cleveland's opinion of this effort? When did the Islands finally become an American possession?

III. 1. Why did the Americans sympathize with the Cubans in their revolt against Spain? 2. What immediate event led to the Spanish-American War? 3. What great victories did the American navy gain in this war? 4. What were the principal land battles? 5. Name the important American leaders in the war.

IV. 1. What new possessions did the Americans gain as a result of the Spanish-American War? 2. What disposition was made of Cuba? 3. How had the Filipinos aided the Americans in the attack on Manila? What did they do when they learned that the United States was to take over the government? 4. Why were American soldiers sent to China in 1900? What was the result of this intervention? 5. How did the United States use part of the indemnity paid by China for damages done during the Boxer Rebellion? 6. What is meant by "imperialism"? Why did some American leaders object to the acquisition by the United States of territorial possessions so far away as the Philippines? 7. What have the Americans done to help the Filipinos? How are the Islands now governed?

Problems for Further Study

1. Select one of the following topics for special study and report:

The Cuban Revolt: See Elson's "Side-Lights on American History," vol. ii, pp. 352–358; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 373–379.

The Battle of Manila Bay: See Elson, pp. 363–373; Southworth's "Builders of Our Country," Book II, pp. 256–259.

Santiago, El Caney, and San Juan Hill: See Elson, pp. 374–390; Hart's "Source Book," pp. 387–390.

2. Why were the problems raised by the acquisition of the Philippines different from those raised by the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, Florida, and the territory ceded to this country by Mexico at the close of the Mexican War?

CHAPTER XXX

ADVANCES IN POPULAR EDUCATION

In the midst of reconstruction in the South, the development of industry and commerce, the settlement of the Far West, and management of foreign politics, the American people never once lost sight of the fact that education was essential to the success of democratic government. Indeed, in the second year of the Civil war, Congress enacted the Morrill Law providing endowments for higher education throughout the Union, and with every new state in the West schools and colleges appeared. No aspect of education was neglected. Elementary schools were increased in number, facilities for training teachers were enlarged, high schools were founded, and colleges multiplied. The tasks were heavy and the obstacles in the way of universal education were great; so progress in spite of splendid labors on the part of public officers and teachers was necessarily slow.

I. The Development of Schools and Colleges

The Situation in 1880. — It was a long time before even elementary education was within the reach of a great majority of the children. In 1880, only ten million of the sixteen million children of school age in the country were enrolled in the schools, and the average daily attendance was far less than half the total number. About one out of every five of the voters of the United States could not read. It was estimated that not fewer than four million out of the ten million voters were so poorly educated that they were unable to read intelligently the common newspapers of the day.

Much of this illiteracy was in the South, where special problems had arisen as a result of the freeing of the slaves. The North, however, was in a way more open to criticism; with two thirds of the population it had about one third of the illiteracy. When we remember that the North was much richer than the South, we are compelled to say that it neglected its duties and could not plead poverty as a reason. Yet in every section earnest and able men and women were laboring with great zeal to increase the number of common schools and to secure more trained teachers.

Forty Years of Progress. — In the country as a whole, great progress has been made in the elementary schools in the past forty years. In 1916 over three fourths of the children of school age in the United States were enrolled in the common schools, and three fourths of those enrolled were in actual attendance. Even then the serious problem of illiteracy was not solved, for there were still millions of people — eight per cent of the total population over ten years of age — who could not read or write. The difficulties of universal education were increased by the constant arrival of foreigners from countries like Russia and Serbia, where about four fifths of the population over ten years of age could not read or write.

Changes in the Attitude toward Free Schools. — During this period there occurred an important change in the spirit of the public-school system. In the early days of the common schools many people, as we have seen, looked upon them as charitable institutions for the poor. Within a few decades this spirit of contempt for them disappeared everywhere, and the people came to regard education as a right to which every child in the United States was entitled by virtue of citizenship.

The Rapid Growth of High Schools. — While the opportunities for elementary education were being increased, a new and special effort was made to give to all children a chance to learn more than the rudiments offered in the graded schools. A rapid growth of public high schools was the result. At the end of President Grant's administration, in 1877, there were only about one hundred thousand pupils in high schools in the United States. Three fourths of them were in private high schools, and only one fourth in those supported by public funds. Within four decades there were over eleven thousand pub-

STUDENTS STUDYING IN THE GREENHOUSE, WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY lic high schools in the country with more than a million students, while the enrollment in the private high schools was about one hundred fifty thousand. Moreover, the education offered in the public high schools was in many respects in advance of the curriculum offered in the colleges half a century before.

The State-supported Colleges. — To complete the scheme of education it was necessary to establish free colleges and universities supported at public expense. To the older eastern colleges like Harvard, Princeton, and William and Mary, had been added a number of schools in the Western States, founded principally by churches, such as Oberlin, in Ohio, established in 1833 by the Congregationalists, and Asbury, now De Pauw, in Indiana, founded by the Methodists in 1837. Although the early land grants for the support of education in the Western States were for colleges as well as common schools, only a few states like Michigan and Wisconsin had made a beginning toward a public college and university system before 1860.

The Morrill Act (1862). — As a further spur to education Congress, in 1862, passed the famous "Morrill Act," which set aside millions of acres of the public lands to be devoted to the support of colleges for instruction in agriculture and mechanical arts, as well as scientific and classical subjects. These lands were apportioned among the states according to the number of their senators and representatives in Congress. Out of this great endowment were developed "agricultural and mechanical colleges" in every state in the Union. In many instances new schools were founded, but sometimes aid was given to older institutions.

In the meantime, the states in the West and South were establishing colleges supported by taxes and controlled by public officers. By 1878, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Colorado, California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, and Washington had laid the foundations of their universities. In some of these states (such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California), the agricultural college was combined with the state university. In others (for example, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, and Kansas) separate agricultural colleges were built up. Many of the states, however, had made no provision for state universities, and in several cases (for instance, Illinois, Ohio, and Maine) the agricultural colleges founded as a result of the Morrill Act later developed into state universities.

II. The Growth of Vocational Education; Educational Extension; The Higher Education of Women

The Demand for the "Practical" Studies. — The signs of the new era in education were to be found not alone in the number of schools and colleges. Even more striking were the changes made in the subjects taught. In the old days studies were largely confined to arithmetic, grammar, history, and languages, and were not designed to prepare pupils for any special work in life. As the notion of "education for everyone" spread, there grew up a demand for a "practical education" intended to fit students for agriculture, household management, and for trades, professions, and occupations in our wonderful industrial life as well as for citizenship.

Reasons for the Development of Vocational Education. — Several causes led to a gradual and profound change in the aims and purposes of education, especially in the colleges and high schools.

1. In the first place, the great development of industry that has been so frequently referred to created a demand

for technically trained men, — engineers, draftsmen, architects, and chemists. Technical schools grew up very rapidly to meet this demand.

2. The Morrill act of 1862, as we have seen, gave rise to a large number of agricultural and mechanical colleges. These grew very slowly at first, for after all little was really known of agricultural science. The federal government, to meet this need, established in 1885 a vast system of "agricultural experiment stations," where men trained in chemistry and other sciences went to work to find out how best to raise crops, to increase the fertility of the soil, and to improve the various breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry. Within a few years, information was available which really helped the farmer to get more from his land, and then the agricultural colleges began to attract large numbers of students. A demand also came for agricultural courses in the high schools of the farming districts, and even for the rudiments of agricultural science in the elementary rural schools. In 1917, the federal government instituted the practice of voting national funds in aid of vocational education in the high schools and schools of similar grade in the various states.

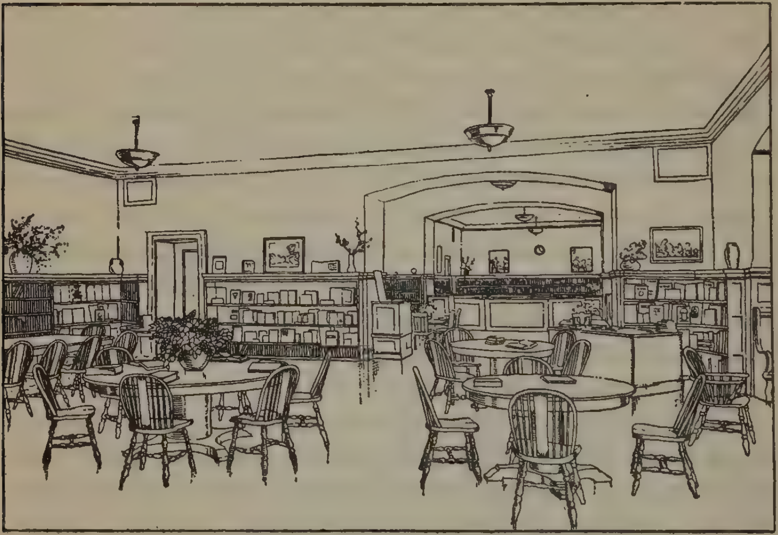
3. In 1876 a Centennial Exposition was held in Philadelphia celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of American independence. People from all over the country flocked to this exposition. Among other important lessons, many of them learned for the first time what the countries of northern Europe, — particularly Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden, — were doing in the education of their children for the practical duties of life. It was the work in "manual training" and drawing that impressed them most, and many of the visitors went home with the firm determination to have the schools of America adopt these newer ideas in education. The first manual-training high

school was opened in St. Louis in 1880, under the principalship of Calvin Woodward, who is recognized as the pioneer in this movement in our country.

Educational Extension. — There was little danger, however, that American education would become entirely "practical" in character, because all sorts of new agencies for spreading general education among the people had developed before the end of the nineteenth century. These included popular lecture systems, such as that supported by public funds in New York City, which provides for evening lectures for the people on all the themes of literature, history, and science. In addition, universities and colleges offered extension and correspondence work, carrying everywhere the messages of higher education to the people. Institutes were founded in all sections to help teachers and farmers prepare themselves to do better work.

The Public Libraries. — Closely connected with these activities was the rapid spread of public libraries, until it was a poor town or village indeed, at least in the North, which, at the opening of the twentieth century, did not have a small library within reach of its inhabitants. Where such local supplies were wanting, state libraries sometimes stepped in and provided "circulating book boxes," thus making the best books of the day accessible even to the inhabitants in the most out-of-the-way districts. With extension systems, circulating libraries, and cheap newspapers, magazines, and books, it became possible even for the humblest of the land to have a knowledge of the world and its work.

The Community Center. — Then came the community center plan for making the public school building the place around which the public life of the community revolves. There the children of the people are educated. There provision is made for play and recreation, particularly for the children of the crowded districts of the great city, who are otherwise compelled to play upon the streets. There halls are provided where the adults can go to read, to play games, to listen to lectures, or to enter into the discussion of the problems of citizenship.



Children's Room in the New York Public Library

Additional Services Assumed by the Schools. — It is impossible to name here all the other achievements in education during the last half century — better sanitation, heating, and lighting for the schools; better fire protection; more beautiful surroundings; the inspection of the health of the pupils; school nurses; separate classes for backward pupils; gymnastic courses; supervised playgrounds; courses in art; and instruction in care of the body.

Higher Education for Women. *Vassar College (1865).* — It was not until 1865 that a woman's college with ample funds

— Vassar College — was established, by Matthew Vassar, at Poughkeepsie, New York. Those who organized this school decided first of all that there should be a woman's college in the East with standards as high as those prevailing in the best men's colleges. When this new college was announced, the New York *Evening Post* said: "No institution of note has yet ventured to admit females much further than into the mysteries of the rudiments."

Women in the State Universities of the West. — With the establishment of Vassar College, education for women became more respectable. Those who had scoffed at it before began to take it more seriously. Wisconsin, by a law enacted in 1867, admitted women to the normal department of the college; in 1870 the University of Michigan, opened in 1841, admitted them to the regular courses. Before 1890 all of the western state universities were opened to women on the same terms as to men.

Advance in East and South. — Between 1875 and 1895 many new women's colleges were opened in the East, including Smith, in Massachusetts, Barnard, connected with Columbia University, in New York, and Bryn Mawr, in Pennsylvania. By 1917 all the Southern state universities, except Virginia, Georgia, and Florida (which has a separate women's college), were open to women.

Professional Education for Women. — When they began to consider the question of training for the professions, such as law and medicine, women encountered more opposition than they had met in their effort to secure an ordinary college education. The advocates of professional education for women were not discouraged, and in 1858 they had the satisfaction of seeing the Boston Medical School for Women founded. Within five years there were more than two hundred and fifty women practicing medicine. In time medical schools for men began to admit women. In 1893 one of the leading medical schools in the country, at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, opened its doors to them. The example of this great school was followed by the announcement, in 1916, that Columbia University would admit women to its College of Physicians and Surgeons. The progress of women's education in law was much slower; and the law schools of some of the largest universities are still closed to them.

III. Other Educational Agencies

Newspapers and Development in the Art of Printing. — No account of popular education in the United States would be complete if the newspapers and magazines were left out of consideration. In 1853 there was introduced the "web-press," which printed by means of rapidly revolving cylinders, drawing the paper from a long roll containing two or three miles of paper in one piece. Instead of a few thousand copies an hour, this new machine could turn out a hundred thousand or more copies an hour at a slight cost per copy. For many years, however, type was set by hand. About 1900 a fast typesetting machine, enabling one man to do the work of eight or ten, was introduced. In the old days cuts or plates from which pictures were printed were laboriously made by hand on wood or copper; but about 1880 devices for making plates quickly and cheaply were invented, making it possible for papers to print pictures illustrating their news "stories."

The result of these inventions was a rapid increase in the number of newspapers and in the circulation of the dailies of the cities. By 1915 there were 26,000 American newspapers out of a total of 62,000 published in the world, and there were many papers that issued from a quarter of a million to nearly a million copies daily. In 1882, the

American Associated Press was founded to collect news in all parts of the world and telegraph it instantly to newspapers. Thus within a few hours events everywhere in the world are brought to the attention of everybody for a penny or two.

The Illustrated Papers. — Before the Civil War there had been only a few illustrated papers, such as *Leslie's Weekly Magazine and Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly*. During the war, the *New York Herald* surprised newspaper readers everywhere by bringing out in its morning edition maps of the previous day's battle. It was regarded as a great feat of newspaper enterprise. A little later the cartoon as a remarkable form of picture writing came into common use. There had been cartoons in pamphlets and magazines in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, but it was not until about 1880 that it became a practice for the leading papers to set forth striking events in the form of serious or comic pictures. Great Sunday newspapers containing from twenty-four to seventy-two pages were the next striking development. They speedily drove almost out of the field the old-fashioned weekly.

The Growth of the Magazines. — The most serious educational work of the publishers has been done through the magazine. At the end of the nineteenth century there were special journals devoted to every subject in which any considerable number of people had any interest: science, education, politics, music, art, theater, inventions, trades, dentistry, medicine, law, engineering, sports, literature, agriculture, labor, woman suffrage, and religion, to mention only a few of the most important. To these were added reviews of current events and important articles. There are now more than two million regular purchasers of monthly magazines, while one of the weeklies claims more than two million buyers.

In 1891 a law was passed making it impossible for American publishers to take copyrighted articles out of English papers without paying for them. This helped to create a demand for American writers, and contributed powerfully to the growth of "Americanism" in our papers and magazines.

The old, established monthlies, like *The Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *The Century*, *Scribner's*, and *The North American Review*, continued to give a distinct tone to our intellectual life.

The Popular Magazine. — Before long there appeared the "popular" magazine, full of stories and pictures and sold at a low price. In this field S. S. McClure was a pioneer. He had traveled widely among the plain people of the small towns and country regions of the United States, and he knew their tastes. In 1893 he published a magazine to sell at ten cents. Through it he carried to the people, far from the great cities, pictures of distinguished men and women, historic events and stories of the deeds of the mighty. Thus farmers and their families came to know the faces of the greatest generals, politicians, and actresses, and to learn about the doings of the world's celebrated personages.

About 1897, when the people were aroused over the actions of the great trusts and the politicians of the cities (see page 574), Mr. McClure began to publish articles attacking the Standard Oil Company and other big industrial concerns and also the political "bosses" of the cities. Writers, like Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell, stirred the country with tales about the wrongdoing of many capitalists and politicians. The *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey's*, *Everybody's*, *Collier's*, and others published stories of the same character, and an age of "muckraking" or bitter criticism of things American was ushered in. This had a deep influence on politics, for these magazines sold by the millions.

The Chautauqua. — Undoubtedly the popular magazines stimulated an interest among the people in more serious study. Out of this have come the famous Chautauquas and university extension movements. The former was established in 1874 by Lewis Miller of Akron, Ohio, and Bishop John H. Vincent of the Methodist Church. It began as a sort of Sunday school and then broadened out, carrying to the people lecturers and books on literature, art, science, travel, world movements, and social questions. In 1879 Chautauqua literary and scientific circles were organized to afford people an opportunity to study systematically at home. An "assembly" was formed at Chautauqua, New York, where a few weeks in the year lectures and courses of instruction by distinguished authorities were given. In time came the establishment of the Chautauqua circuits or series of meetings in hundreds of hamlets and towns in all parts of the country. The Chautauqua system has done more than anything else to promote the idea of summer education, winter home study by correspondence, and coöperation in public improvements among the people. Thus the gateways to knowledge are wider open than ever before in the history of the world.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. What opportunities for education do you have that your fathers and mothers did not have? 2. What is meant by "illiteracy"? State some of the reasons why there was so much illiteracy in this country in 1880 in spite of the growth of free schools. 3. What important change took place in the attitude of the people toward free schools in the latter part of the nineteenth century? Why is it important that the children of both the rich and the poor should attend the free, public schools? 4. About how many boys and girls attended high schools in 1877? In 1913? What important difference took place between these years in the kind of high schools which most of these pupils attended? 5. How were colleges chiefly supported and controlled in the earlier part of the nineteenth century? What was the Morrill Act of 1862 and why was it important?

II. 1. What is meant by vocational education? 2. Why did the development of industry create a demand for a new kind of education? 3. In what year were the agricultural experiment stations established? What is the purpose of these stations? 4. How did the Centennial Exposition of 1876 call the people's attention to the need of a more practical education? 5. What is meant by educational extension? How did the development of public libraries help the work of the schools? 6. What is meant by using the school buildings as "community centers"? 7. What have the public schools done for the people in addition to giving instruction to children? 8. Why was the establishment of Vassar College in 1865 so important? 9. In what section of the country was rapid progress first made in the higher education of women? At about what time? 10. What professional schools were first opened to women?

III. 1. What invention led to the rapid growth of newspapers and magazines? 2. In what way have the popular magazines served to educate the people? 3. What is meant by the Chautauqua movement, and how has it rendered service to the cause of education?

Problems for Further Study

1. Give as many reasons as you can for supporting elementary schools at public expense. For supporting high schools and colleges at public expense.

2. Find out when the first high school in your town or city was established. Find where the state agricultural college of your state is located, when it was established, and what different kinds of service it gives to the farmers of the state. If your state supports a university find when it was established and how it came to be established.

3. Discuss in class the way in which the following agencies work together to educate the people: schools, newspapers, magazines, public libraries, art museums, churches, public lectures.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS (CHAPTERS XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX

I. The rise of the New South.
  A. The situation at the close of the Civil War.
  B. The reconstruction of the planting system.
  C. The development of farming.
  D. The Industrial Revolution in the South.
II. The growth of the Far West.
  A. The Far West in 1860.
  B. New Western states and territories.
  C. The problem of the public land.
III. The triumph of industry.
  A. The development of mining and manufacturing.
  B. The development of transportation: railroads and ships.
  C. The army of industry: inventors, business men, wage-earners.
  D. The results of industrial development.
    1. Development of the export trade.
    2. Disappearance of the frontier.
    3. Business and industry gain on farming.
    4. The growth of the cities.
    5. Evils of industrial development.
IV. Immigration.
  A. Principal sources of immigration before 1890.
    1. Early immigration.
    2. Immigration after 1865.
  B. Later changes in immigration.
    1. The influx from Southern Europe.
    2. Settlement of immigrants in the cities.
    3. The enormous increase in immigration.
    4. Many immigrants not permanent.
  C. Efforts to restrict immigration.
V. Combinations of capital and labor.
  A. Competition leads to the formation of "trusts."
  B. The results of combinations of capital.
    1. The "soulless" corporation.
    2. Protective organizations of employees.

        3. Employers' organizations.
    - *C.* The great strikes.
    - *D.* The rise of Socialism.
- VI. Parties and political issues.
    - *A.* The Republican and Democratic parties.
    - *B.* The tariff and income-tax issues.
    - *C.* The currency problem.
    - *D.* Other political problems and issues.
- VII. Foreign affairs.
    - *A.* Controversies with Great Britain.
    - *B.* Controversy with Germany over Samoa.
    - *C.* The Hawaiian question.
    - *D.* The growth of foreign trade.
- VIII. The Spanish-American war and the Boxer difficulties.
    - *A.* The Cuban revolt and the destruction of the *Maine.*
    - *B.* The war with Spain.
    - *C.* The results of the war.
    - *D.* Military activities in China.
    - *E.* Imperialism a political issue.
- IX. Advances in popular education.
    - *A.* Development of schools and colleges.
    - *B.* The growth of vocational education.
    - *C.* Educational extension.
    - *D.* The higher education of women.
    - *E.* Other educational agencies.

Important names:

Presidents: Johnson, 1865–1869; Grant, 1869–1877; Hayes, 1877–1881; Garfield and Arthur, 1881–1885; Cleveland, 1885–1889; Harrison, 1889–1893; Cleveland, 1893–1897; McKinley, 1897–1901.

Other Political Leaders: Tilden, Blaine, Bryan.

Inventors: Edison, Bell, Wilbur and Orville Wright.

Labor Leaders: Debs, Gompers.

Leaders of Business and Industry: Rockefeller, Carnegie, Morgan.

Military and Naval Leaders: Dewey, Sampson, Schley, Shafter.

Important dates: 1877, 1894, 1898.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

I. CAUSES OF INCREASING INTEREST IN THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

1. **Popular Education.** — In the closing years of the nineteenth century, the people of the United States, men and women alike, learned more about the government than ever before in the history of our country. As a result of the spread of education, more citizens read newspapers, magazines, and books. The news of events, great and small, was easily scattered throughout the land by the press, telegraph, and telephone, so that no part of the country could long be ignorant of what was happening in other sections.

2. **Wrongdoing on the Part of Public Officers.** — In the era of great business enterprise which followed the Civil War, government officers were often allowed to do wrongful acts without interference from the citizens. Sometimes the city councils were bribed to sell cheaply or even give away to companies the right to build street railways or waterworks or other public utilities. Members of state legislatures frequently made laws favorable to private persons and companies in return for payments of money. It was a common occurrence for railway companies to get valuable lands away from the government in return for very small service. Again, contractors doing public work, such as building court houses and bridges, were sometimes permitted to overcharge and so rob the public treasury.

3. **Criticism of Faithless Officials.** — From time to time criticism of negligent officials appeared in newspapers or in pamphlets. Widespread concern about the evils in American government was especially aroused by the publication in 1888 of James Bryce's "The American Commonwealth." Bryce was an English student of government who spent several years in the United States and then wrote a long and careful account of his observations. He did more than any one else to call the attention of the American people to the exact way in which their affairs were managed and especially to the corruption prevalent in cities. Although some Americans were deeply annoyed by Bryce's book, the more serious people said that we should profit by his criticism and endeavor to "clean house."

4. **Problems of the Cities.** — Another cause of increased interest in government was the rapid growth of large cities. As long as the people lived in the country and supplied themselves with water from their own wells, rode to market in their own wagons and carriages, lighted their houses with oil lamps, and shipped goods by canal boats and freight wagons, there was little need for the government to interfere with the way in which business was carried on. When the most important public enterprise was the town pump, it did not require very much attention on the part of the citizens to keep it in working order.

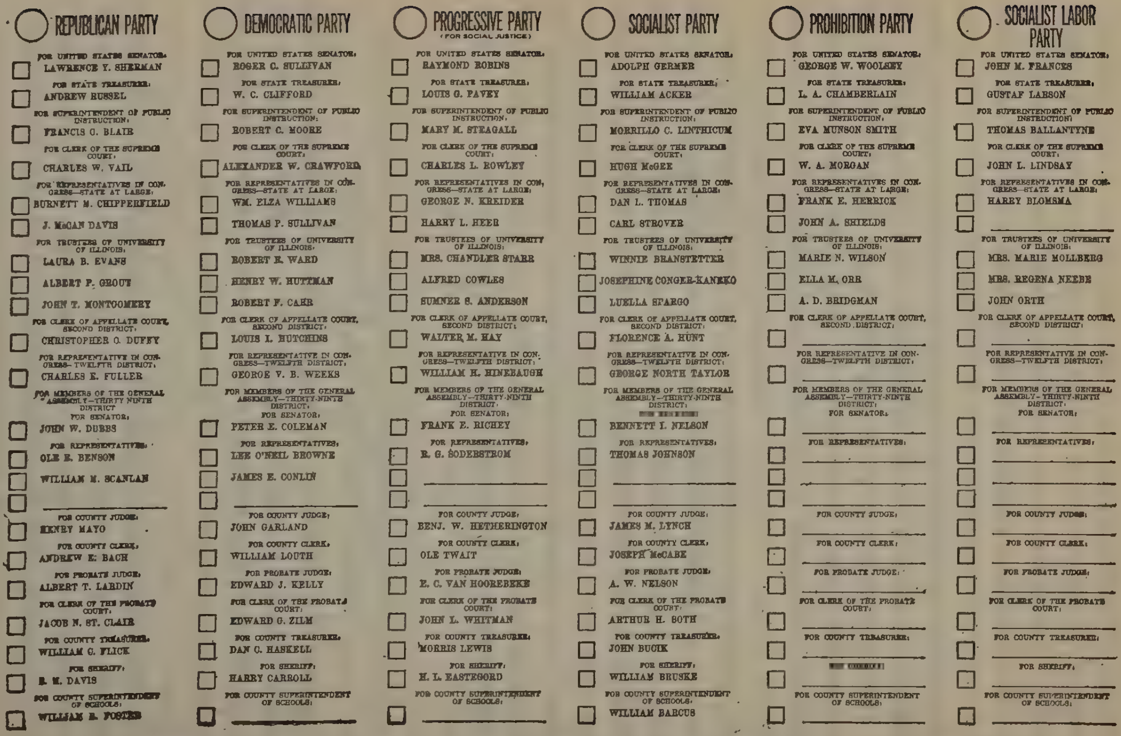
With the growth in population, it was necessary for cities to supply their residents with water, gas, electricity, street cars, and many other services. They did this either by building plants and running them, or by chartering companies to do the work under the general supervision of the city government. Naturally, as the welfare of men, women, and children came to depend in a large part on what the government did, citizens were forced to think a good deal more about government.

5. The Education and Employment of Women. — A fifth cause of increased popular concern in politics was the education of women, on the one hand, and the employment of them in larger numbers in offices, stores, and factories, on the other. As common schools and high schools were multiplied throughout the length and breadth of the land, and girls were given the same opportunity as boys to learn, they began to read the same magazines and newspapers. In the factories and stores and mills, they found that they were working just as men were, and that all the regulations to safeguard the health and safety of employees affected them. Even the women who did not go out to work, but lived in their homes and took care of children, were also interested in the new order of things. They saw that the character of the schools, the kind of water or gas supplied, or the cleanliness of the public markets depended upon the way that government officers performed their duties. So women at home and out of the home, in colleges, schools, factories, and clubs, began to read about government and to discuss public affairs.

II. Civil-Service Reform; the Australian Ballot; the Initiative and Referendum

Civil-Service Reform in the States and Cities. — As a result of this increase in public interest many reforms in the machinery of government were brought about during the last half century — one of the earliest being in the civil service.

The "spoils system" presented such glaring evils that one is surprised to learn how long it endured. Many independent people criticized it from the beginning, and, as we have seen, they were able in 1883 to secure a change in the civil service of the federal government. In the same year the



	○ REPUBLICAN PARTY	○ DEMOCRATIC PARTY	○ PROGRESSIVE PARTY (FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE)	○ SOCIALIST PARTY	○ PROHIBITION PARTY	○ SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR:	☐ LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN	☐ ROGER C. SULLIVAN	☐ RAYMOND ROBINS	☐ ADOLPH GERMER	☐ GEORGE W. WOOLSEY	☐ JOHN M. FRANCES
FOR STATE TREASURER:	☐ ANDREW RUSSEL	☐ W. C. CLIFFORD	☐ LOUIS G. PAVEY	☐ WILLIAM ACKER	☐ L. A. CHAMBERLAIN	☐ GUSTAF LARSON
FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION:	☐ FRANCIS G. BLAIR	☐ ROBERT C. MOORE	☐ MARY M. STEAGALL	☐ MORRILLO C. LINTHICUM	☐ EVA MUNSON SMITH	☐ THOMAS BALLANTYNE
FOR CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT:	☐ CHARLES W. VAIL	☐ ALEXANDER W. CRAWFORD	☐ CHARLES L. ROWLEY	☐ HUGH McGEE	☐ W. A. MORGAN	☐ JOHN L. LINDSAY
FOR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS—STATE AT LARGE:	☐ BURNETT M. CHIPPERFIELD	☐ WM. ELZA WILLIAMS	☐ GEORGE N. KREIDER	☐ DAN L. THOMAS	☐ FRANK E. HERRICK	☐ HARRY BLOMSMA
	☐ J. McCAN DAVIS	☐ THOMAS P. SULLIVAN	☐ HARRY L. HEER	☐ CARL STROVER	☐ JOHN A. SHIELDS	☐
FOR TRUSTEES OF UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS:	☐ LAURA B. EVANS	☐ ROBERT R. WARD	☐ MRS. CHANDLER STARR	☐ WINNIE BRANSTETTER	☐ MARIE N. WILSON	☐ MRS. MARIE MOLLBERG
	☐ ALBERT P. GROUT	☐ HENRY W. HUTTMAN	☐ ALFRED COWLES	☐ JOSEPHINE CONGER-KANEKO	☐ ELLA M. ORR	☐ MRS. REGENA NEEBE
	☐ JOHN T. MONTGOMERY	☐ ROBERT F. CARR	☐ SUMNER S. ANDERSON	☐ LUELLA SPARGO	☐ A. D. BRIDGMAN	☐ JOHN ORTH
FOR CLERK OF APPELLATE COURT, SECOND DISTRICT:	☐ CHRISTOPHER O. DUFFY	☐ LOUIS L. HUTCHINS	☐ WALTER M. HAY	☐ FLORENCE A. HUNT	☐	☐
FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS—TWELFTH DISTRICT:	☐ CHARLES E. FULLER	☐ GEORGE V. B. WEEKS	☐ WILLIAM H. HINEBAUGH	☐ GEORGE NORTH TAYLOR	☐	☐
FOR MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—THIRTY-NINTH DISTRICT: FOR SENATOR:	☐ JOHN W. DUBBS	☐ PETER E. COLEMAN	☐ FRANK E. RICHEY	☐ BENNETT L. NELSON	☐	☐
FOR REPRESENTATIVES:	☐ OLE E. BENSON	☐ LEE O'NEIL BROWNE	☐ R. G. SODERSTROM	☐ THOMAS JOHNSON	☐	☐
	☐ WILLIAM M. SCANLAN	☐ JAMES E. CONLIN	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FOR COUNTY JUDGE:	☐ HENRY MAYO	☐ JOHN GARLAND	☐ BENJ. W. HETHERINGTON	☐ JAMES M. LYNCH	☐	☐
FOR COUNTY CLERK:	☐ ANDREW E. BACH	☐ WILLIAM LOUTH	☐ OLE TWAIT	☐ JOSEPH McCABE	☐	☐
FOR PROBATE JUDGE:	☐ ALBERT T. LARDIN	☐ EDWARD J. KELLY	☐ E. C. VAN HOOREBEKE	☐ A. W. NELSON	☐	☐
FOR CLERK OF THE PROBATE COURT:	☐ JACOB N. ST. CLAIR	☐ EDWARD G. ZILM	☐ JOHN L. WHITMAN	☐ ARTHUR H. BOTH	☐	☐
FOR COUNTY TREASURER:	☐ WILLIAM G. FLICK	☐ DAN C. HASKELL	☐ MORRIS LEWIS	☐ JOHN BUCIK	☐	☐
FOR SHERIFF:	☐ R. M. DAVIS	☐ HARRY CARROLL	☐ H. L. EASTEGORD	☐ WILLIAM BRUSKE	☐	☐
FOR COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS:	☐ WILLIAM R. FOSTER	☐	☐	☐ WILLIAM BARCUS	☐	☐

THE "PARTY COLUMN" FORM OF THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT, SOMETIMES CALLED THE "LONG BALLOT" state of New York passed a law providing that a very large number of public employees in the state, county, and city governments should be chosen on account of their ability to pass certain examinations and tests; and furthermore, that they should hold office during good behavior. In time several other states — Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Illinois, for example — adopted civil-service reform. The new system now prevails to a greater or less extent in many states and more than two hundred cities. For example, the eighty or ninety thousand employees in the city of New York, except those in the higher positions, know that no matter who wins in an election they will be able to go on with their work unless they neglect their duties.

Ballot Reform. *Evil Election Practices.* — For a long time it was customary for political parties to print their own ballots, and as a rule, each party selected a color of its own. Thus, for example, the Republicans, in an election, would select candidates and print their names on white paper, and the Democrats would select candidates and print their names on a red ballot. These ballots were distributed freely, and if any man wanted to vote the Republican ticket he simply got one of the white ballots, walked up to the polls, and dropped it into the ballot box. The watchers standing around could readily see what ticket he voted. It was possible for party leaders to buy up voters, and be sure that they voted as they were told. A good deal of bribery and intimidation in elections was the natural consequence.

The Australian Ballot. — By an important law passed in 1888, Massachusetts introduced for the first time in an American state a new kind of ballot known as the "Australian" ballot, after the country in which it was first used. Under this new system (1) the government prints "official" ballots for all elections; (2) the names of the candidates of all parties are placed on the same ballot; (3) the ballots can be procured only at the polling places from public officers; and (4) the voter must mark in secret the names of the candidates for whom he votes. Thus it is very difficult for any one who has bribed or threatened a voter to be sure that "the goods have been delivered." This reform, along with others designed to purify elections, has done much to drive bribery and cheating from American politics. Other states in the Union followed the example of Massachusetts, and at the opening of the twentieth century nearly all had adopted the Australian ballot in some form.

The Initiative and Referendum. — Ballot reform had not been in operation very long before some citizens, particularly in the western states, began to advocate other changes in government. Believing that the legislatures had passed laws which the people did not want and had refused to pass other laws which they did want, reformers insisted that the voters at the polls should have a chance to express their opinions on laws as well as to select public officers. They adopted a plan known as the initiative and referendum, in use in Switzerland.

The *initiative* permits private citizens to draw up a bill, and, on securing the signatures of a certain percentage of the voters, to have it submitted directly to all the voters at an election. If this bill proposed by the initiative receives a sufficient majority, it becomes a law.

The *referendum* allows citizens who do not like an act passed by the legislature to get up a petition and require the submission of that measure to the voters at the polls for their approval or rejection. These two devices constitute what is known as "direct government," because they enable the voters to make laws directly, without the intervention of any elected officers whatever.

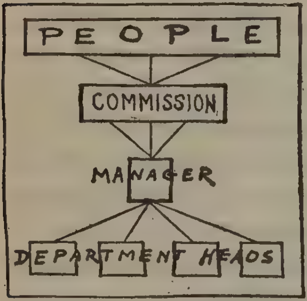
The new plan was adopted, for the first time in any state, by South Dakota, in 1898. Four years later, Oregon followed the example of South Dakota. Nevada adopted part of the plan in 1905, and other states soon followed: Montana, Oklahoma, Michigan, Maine, Arkansas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Ohio, Nebraska, Washington, Idaho, and North Dakota. While these states were adopting the plan, more than three hundred cities put it into effect in the making of ordinances or local laws.

The Recall. — In 1904 a new scheme for securing voters still more power, known as the "recall," was initiated at Los Angeles. The recall permits a certain percentage of the voters (25 per cent in Oregon) who are dissatisfied with a public officer to get up a petition against him at any time, and compel him either to resign or to submit himself at a new election to the judgment of his fellow citizens. The spread of this reform has not been so rapid as that of the initiative and referendum. By the year 1916, it was in force in only eight states — Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Oklahoma, Nevada, Michigan, and Colorado. It was widely applied, however, in more than two hundred city governments in all parts of the country.

III. The Commission Form of City Government; Reforms in Political Parties; the Direct Primary

The Rise of Commission Government. — While searching for better things citizens began to criticize the old-fashioned city government by mayor and councilmen. In the year 1900 a great storm, which destroyed a large portion of the city of Galveston, Texas, led to an important experiment. A committee of citizens drew up a new scheme of government abolishing the mayor and council and putting the whole management of public business into the hands of five commissioners, one of whom, without any extra powers, was to serve as a Mayor-President. This "commission" plan was shortly afterward put into force in Galveston, and in 1908 it was adopted by the city of Des Moines, Iowa. From that time forward the spread of the plan was rapid, until by 1916 more than three hundred cities, including some of the first rank, such as St. Paul, Memphis, Spokane, Birmingham, Newark, and Buffalo, had adopted it in one form or another.

The City Manager Plan.—The commission scheme of government had hardly been tested before an addition was made to it. It was found difficult for the five commissioners to supervise properly all the details of the city's business and some one suggested that they should elect a "manager" to do this for them. So the commissioner-manager plan was devised. Under this scheme the commissioners merely act as a town council, pass ordinances, vote money, and make general plans, while the actual carrying out of the public business is intrusted to a man whom they choose, known as the city manager. The plan was adopted in 1912 at Sumter, South Carolina, and later by larger cities, including Springfield and Dayton, Ohio, and Phoenix, Arizona.



Commissioner-Manager Plan of City Governmemt

Evils in the Management of Political Parties.—Not a few of the evils which appeared in government were attributed by critical citizens to the way in which the political parties were managed. The political party had grown up as a wholly voluntary society, like a social club or an association for some special purpose. Party members were supposed to conduct their party affairs as they pleased.

It was thought to be nobody's business how they elected the chairman and other officers of their town, city, county, state, and national committees. Each party made its own plan for conducting its affairs and was permitted to select candidates for local, state, and national offices as it saw fit.

Nominations by Conventions. — It was the common practice until the early part of the twentieth century for each party to select its officers and candidates at "conventions." A convention was merely an assembly of party workers selected by the party voters at local caucuses or meetings. For example, the Republican national convention was composed of four delegates "at large"[1] from each state and two delegates from each congressional district. Only those citizens who gave a great deal of attention to politics attended caucuses and conventions. As a rule only about ten or twenty per cent of the voters in each of the political parties took any interest in the selection of party officers and party candidates.

The Direct Primary. — Those who had time to spare for politics naturally secured the party offices and selected the party candidates. They became known as the "bosses" or party leaders. When things went wrong in the government, they were attacked.

A demand then arose that the party convention should be abolished and the "direct primary" substituted for it. Under this system, the voters of each party choose at the polls their leaders and candidates. The first state to have a general direct primary was Wisconsin, which adopted it in 1903. The other states followed rapidly, and by 1915 nearly all the states had given up the convention in favor of the direct primary.

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[1] That is, the four were not chosen one from each of four districts but simply named together on one ticket.

The Popular Election of United States Senators. — The progress of "direct" government brought a demand for the election of United States Senators by popular vote instead of by the state legislatures. This reform had been urged in Congress as early as 1826; President Johnson had advocated it in 1868; and in 1893 the House of Representatives had passed a constitutional amendment for direct election, only to be blocked by the Senate. Failing to make headway with the federal amendment the advocates of the new plan worked in the states, applying the principle of the direct primary to the selection of candidates for the United States Senate, in some instances binding the legislatures to accept the popular choice. By 1910 three fourths of the states nominated candidates for the United States Senate by the direct primary. The next year both houses of Congress passed the long-debated constitutional amendment. It was promptly ratified by the required number of states and on May 31, 1913, proclaimed a part of the Constitution of the United States as the Seventeenth Amendment.

IV. Woman Suffrage

Early Hope for a Federal Amendment. — With the awakening interest in popular government there came a revival of the agitation for woman suffrage. The suffragists, as we have seen, were defeated in their attempt to secure an amendment to the federal Constitution giving the ballot to women at the time that the slaves were emancipated and enfranchised. Then they realized that they must win a few states before they could get a real hearing at the national capital.

Suffragists Turn to the States. — The first state campaign of importance opened in Kansas. In 1861 the right to vote in school elections had been extended there to women, and six years later the proposition to grant complete suffrage was submitted to the voters. In this campaign, women speakers traveled day and night over miles of wild prairie and spoke in depots, barns, mills, churches, schoolhouses. and in the open air on the very frontiers of civilization, wherever a few people could be brought together. The women were defeated, but they secured a respectable vote.

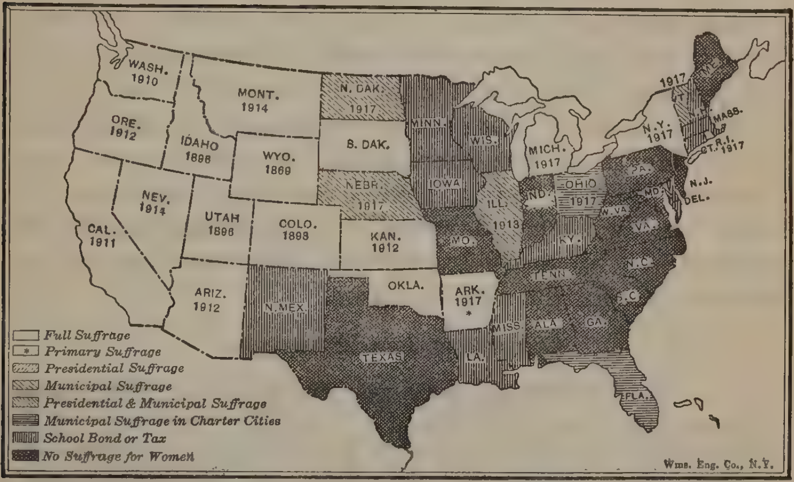
Pioneers in the Woman Suffrage Movement

Seated left to right: Mrs. Rebecca B. Spring, Miss Susan B. Anthony. *Standing:* Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Mrs. Charlotte LeMoyne Wills

Success in the West. — Their first victory was not until many years later. As a territory Wyoming had given women the vote in 1869; twenty years afterward, in 1889, it came into the Union as the first state with equal political rights for "all male and female citizens." The second state to enfranchise women was Colorado. After years of agitation the women won the vote in 1893. The third state was Utah. Suffrage had been granted to women when Utah was a territory, but Congress, in 1887, took it away from them. In 1896, after Utah had become a state, it established once more the principle of equal suffrage. The fourth state was Idaho, which gave the ballot to women in 1896.

Decline and Revival in the Suffrage Movement. — After the adoption of woman suffrage in Idaho in 1896, there followed a long period during which no gains were made, although at least twenty campaigns were carried on in various sections of the Union. In 1910, however, another wave of enthusiasm for woman suffrage began to sweep the cause forward. In that year the state of Washington gave women the ballot. In 1911 California was added to the suffrage states. In 1912 three more states granted equal suffrage — Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas. In 1913 the territory of Alaska followed their example, and the legislature of Illinois granted women the right to vote for a large number of offices, including the President of the United States. The next year, 1914, Nevada and Montana, and in 1917, New York, extended the franchise to women, thus making in all twelve states with full suffrage, and a thirteenth, Illinois, with presidential and limited local suffrage. Some other states also enacted presidential suffrage laws. While making these great gains, the suffragists were defeated in several eastern states — Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maine, and Massachusetts.

Suffrage Agitation at Washington. — As early as 1868, a proposition to establish woman suffrage by federal amendment had been introduced in Congress, and in January, 1878, the famous "Susan B. Anthony amendment" had been proposed by Senator Sargent of California: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied by the United States or by any state on account of sex." The women founded the National Woman's Suffrage Association, and every year after 1878 they made pilgrimages to Washington with petitions and arguments, asking for the passage of their amendment. In 1913, a more radical suffrage organization, The Congressional Union, came into the field. The newcomers said to the members of Congress and to the President: "If you do not pass our national amendment, we are going into the states where the women vote and ask them not to return you to office."



Courtesy of "The Woman Citizen"

SUFFRAGE MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

Progress of the Federal Amendment. — In the campaign of 1916, woman suffrage became one of the prominent issues. The Republican party, "as a measure of justice to one half of the adult population," favored the extension of suffrage to women, but recognized the right of each state to settle the question for itself. The Democratic party recommended "the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as to men." The Republican candidate, Mr. Hughes, went beyond his platform and, in an open letter, indorsed the granting of suffrage by the federal amendment, but Mr. Wilson, who had announced his belief in woman suffrage in 1915, insisted that victory should be won state by state. The growing strength of the women voters and the victory in New York forced the passage of the suffrage amendment by the House of Representatives on January 10, 1918, President Wilson, at last, having used his influence in its favor. In the Senate, however, the amendment lacked two votes of the necessary two-thirds. The amendment was therefore left for the next Congress.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

I. 1. In what way did the development of free schools create a demand for better government? 2. What were some of the evil practices that had crept into state and city governments? 3. How did it happen that Mr. Bryce, an Englishman, could have had so large an influence in improving government in America? 4. What new problems of government came with the rapid growth of the cities? 5. What other influences led to awakened interest of the people in governmental matters?

II. 1. At about what time did the states begin to adopt civil-service reform? In what ways are the employees of state and city governments better off under civil service than they were before these reforms? 2. Describe the older method of providing ballots for elections. What were the dangers in the older method? 3. What is meant by the "Australian ballot"? What is meant by the "secret ballot"? How have these changes done away with many of the older evils? 4. Describe the operation of an initiative and referendum law. What are the advantages of such a law? What is meant by the "recall"?

III. 1. What are the principal differences between the commission form of city government and the older method of governing cities through a mayor and a common council or board of aldermen? 2. What is a "city manager"? In what ways is a city manager like a city superintendent of schools?

IV. 1. Describe the way in which candidates for public offices were nominated by political parties. What are the dangers in this system? 2. What is meant by the "direct primary" election? How does it differ from other elections?

V. 1. What led the advocates of woman suffrage to urge the states to adopt amendments giving women the right to vote? What were the first states to adopt such amendments? In how many states are women now permitted to vote for all important officers of the government?

Problems for Further Study

1. If you live in a city, find out whether the employees of the city government are under civil service, and if not whether they are likely to lose their places whenever a new party comes into power. If you live in a small town or village, find out what officers are responsible for the public business of the community — for the roads, sidewalks, street lights, and the like.

2. Boards of aldermen are usually elected by wards; that is, each ward sends one or more people to represent it in the law-making body of the city. Under the commission form of city government, the commissioners are usually chosen "at large," that is, without reference to the particular districts of the city in which they happen to live. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these two methods.

3. Organize your class under the commission form of government, using the Australian ballot system for electing the commissioners.

CHAPTER XXXII

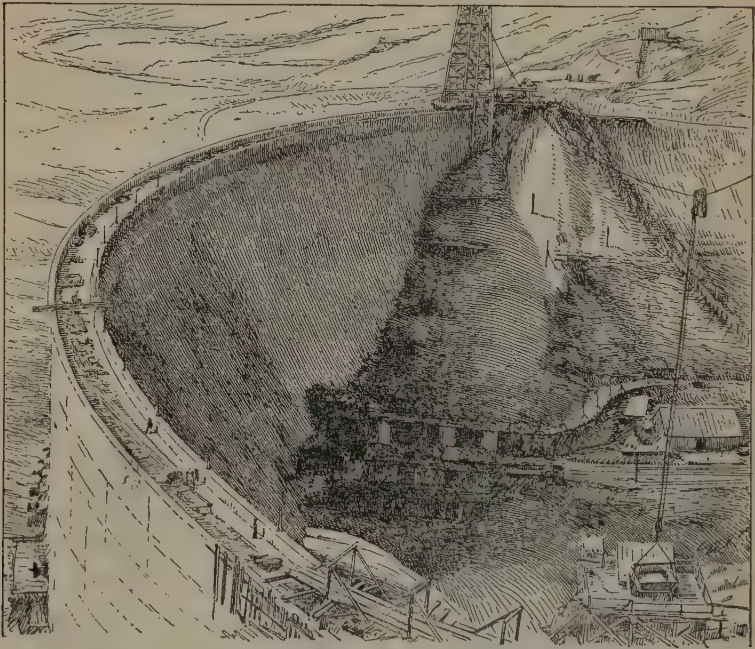
THE OPENING OF THE NEW CENTURY

I. ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION; THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

A New Type of Political Leadership. — With the inauguration of President Roosevelt after the assassination of President McKinley in September, 1901, a new period in the political history of the United States opened. For the first time there was in the White House a President who discussed with great vigor and earnestness the general questions of capital and labor, riches and poverty, which had been raised by the industrial progress of his own day. During his two administrations, Mr. Roosevelt attacked " malefactors of great wealth " who grew rich by monopolies or cheated the public by various fraudulent schemes, and he denounced also " false labor leaders " who induced trade unions to commit acts of violence in times of strikes and labor disputes. He advocated taxing incomes and the inheritances of the rich, largely for the purpose of leveling down some of the great inequalities in wealth. He was especially earnest in his demand that the forests, minerals, and other natural resources of the country, which had been so lavishly used by individuals and companies, should be conserved for the generations to come.

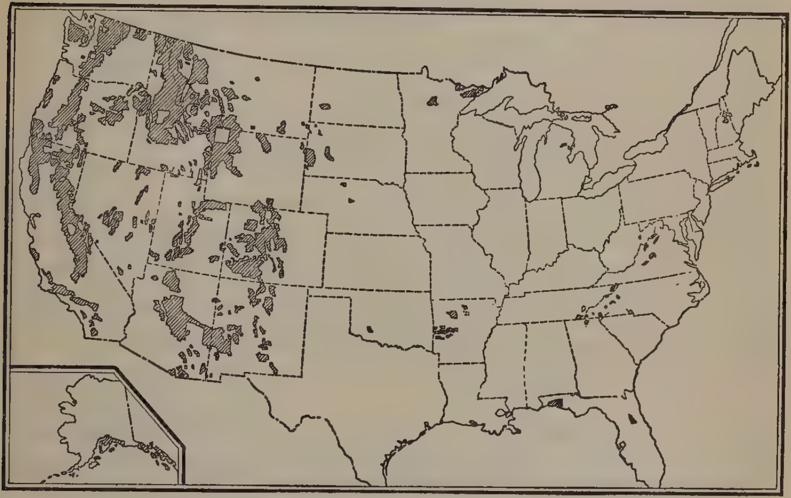
The Conservation Movement. *Leading Advocates.* — Thoughtful men on the western frontier had long wanted to transform vast desert areas into gardens by water from the mountains. John Wesley Powell, who had explored the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, early advocated the construction of large dams for storing water from the mountain streams so that it could be slowly fed out to the plains. F. H. Newell, who was also in the government service, pointed out the importance of taking care of the forests on the mountain sides, in order to hold the soil and prevent the spring freshets from carrying down to sea thousands of tons of rich earth. Gifford Pin-

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DISCUSSING NATIONAL QUESTIONS chot, for many years a student of forestry and later head of the forestry bureau in the federal government, took leadership in urging the conservation of all the natural resources: forests, water supplies, and minerals, as well as the irrigation of the arid lands. Senator Newlands, of Nevada, who knew the problems of the West at first hand, year in and year out pressed upon Congress the urgent necessity for action.



THE ARROWROCK DAM ABOVE BOISE ON THE BOISE RIVER

The Reclamation Act (*1902*).—As a result of the demands of public-spirited citizens, Congress passed, on June 17, 1902, the Reclamation Act — a law for redeeming the arid regions of the West. This law provided that the money collected by the federal government from the sale of public lands be used to build dams and store water for gradual distribution over desert areas. The lands thus reclaimed were to be sold by the government to settlers and certain charges made for the use of the water. The money secured by the government from the settlers was to be used to construct new dams and irrigation works, so that a large fund would be provided forever to bring additional lands under cultivation. Work was immediately begun under this plan. In the spring of 1911 the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona was built, and the erection of other plants went forward rapidly.



NATIONAL FORESTS, 1918

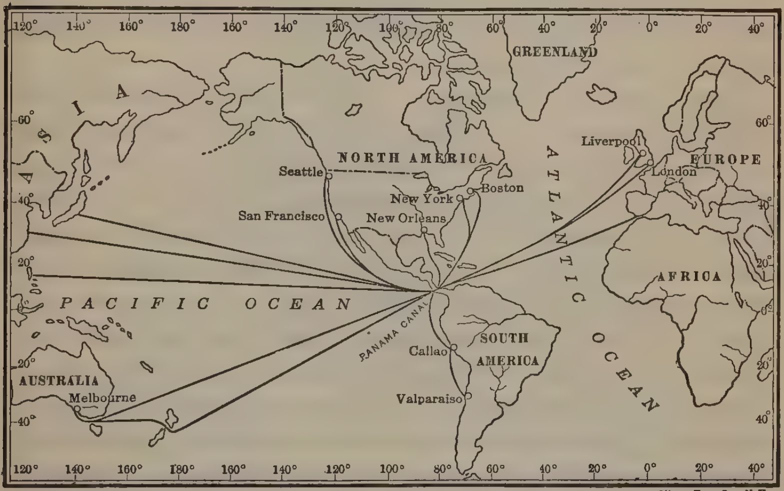
The National Forests. — While the irrigation work was under way, attention was being given to the forest lands owned by the federal government. In 1906 the cattle rangers who turned their sheep and cattle loose to graze in the national forests were compelled to pay the government for the privilege. In the same year the government began the practice of renting to electric companies the right to use the water power on the government lands, instead of either giving that privilege away or selling it at a small sum.

The next year, 1907, President Roosevelt, following an example set by President Cleveland years before, by a single proclamation added to the permanent national forests a vast area of forty-three million acres. In order to protect these forests against fire and marauders, a force of forest rangers was established, roads and trails were built, and telephone lines put up. By this system it was possible for the rangers to communicate rapidly with one another, spread the alarm whenever a fire broke out, and concentrate forces for fighting it. Before the new plans were adopted it was common for a single fire to sweep away thousands of acres of valuable timber. So effective was the fire-prevention work that in 1908 only about 15 per cent of the fires that broke out in the national forests spread over more than five acres.

II. The Panama Canal. The Treaty of Portsmouth

Early History. — From the day when Balboa struggled across the narrow isthmus and beheld the waters of the Pacific down to our time, men had dreamed of cutting across the strip of land which compelled ships sailing between New York and San Francisco to take the journey around Cape Horn. Great Britain was interested in this project because she had more merchant ships on the high seas than any other country in the world; and the United States was interested in it because manufacturers and farmers, who had produce and goods to ship across great stretches of the American continent, were anxious to find lower freight rates than the railroads could grant.

Indeed before the days of railroads the matter was seriously considered, and in 1850 the United States and Great Britain, by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, agreed that a canal might be built by a private corporation under their joint supervision. Nothing came of this proposal. Then in 1881 Ferdinand de Lesseps, who was celebrated throughout the world for his achievement in building the Suez Canal, organized a French company and began the work of cutting across the Isthmus of Panama. After spending millions of francs and losing hundreds of lives, the French company gave up the task in despair. There was a lull in public interest in the canal, until the attention of the people of the United States was forcibly drawn to it again by the historic voyage of the battleship *Oregon* around the Horn, at the outbreak of the Spanish War.



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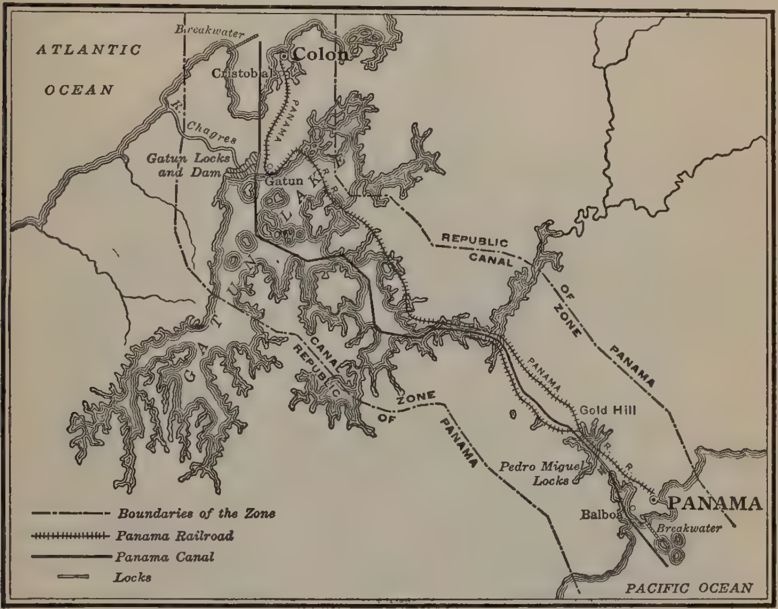
THE PRINCIPAL TRADE ROUTES THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

New Treaty with Great Britain. — After the Spanish War was over, many people came to the conclusion that the United States alone should control any canal which might be built to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific. In 1901 another arrangement, known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, was made with Great Britain, setting aside the old agreement. This new contract provided that the canal should be constructed under the sole direction of the United States, either at its own cost or by a private company under its control. The United States agreed that the canal should be free and open to the vessels of all nations, and that there should be no discriminations in tolls against any nation or its citizens.

Dispute over the Routes. — The next great question confronting the country was where and how the canal should be built. After much dispute Congress, in June, 1902, ordered that the French company's claims in Panama should be bought and that arrangements should be made with the Republic of Colombia to purchase the strip of territory through which to build the canal. It was provided, however, that, if an agreement could not be made with Colombia, the route through Nicaragua should be chosen.

The Panama "Revolution." — The government of the United States then undertook to acquire the canal strip, only to find Colombia unwilling to accept the terms offered. President Roosevelt was vexed by this, because he thought that Colombia was taking advantage of the opportunity to exact more money from the United States than the land was worth. Some of the inhabitants in Panama were also displeased about it. They were anxious to see work on the canal begun, because it meant the spending of millions of dollars there and great prosperity for that region. In the autumn of 1903 the people of Panama, feeling certain that the United States would uphold them, revolted against Colombia. President Roosevelt, who had sent naval forces down to watch the course of events, at once acknowledged the independence of the new republic. Early in the next year a treaty was made with Panama, authorizing the United States to construct and operate a canal through the zone.

The Canal Built. — The plan of the canal was then taken up and it was decided in 1906, after a long wrangle in Congress, to build great locks instead of attempting to cut through a channel level with the sea. By an order of January 6, 1908, President Roosevelt appointed Colonel Goethals as head of the commission to carry out the enterprise. Way for the work had been prepared by Dr. Gorgas who had made the canal zone a place where workmen could live with safety to their health. The failure of the French company had been partly due to the fevers and other diseases which swept men away by the hundreds. The American government, profiting by that experience, provided marvel-



The Panama Canal Zone, the Canal, and the Railroad ous sanitary conditions in advance. When all was ready, thousands of workingmen with engines, dredges, locomotives, and supplies were brought together, and a mighty army well equipped started to realize the grand dream. In spite of many discouragements, particularly the slides from the mountain sides into the channel and the crumbling of foundations for the locks, the great work was brought to a successful close and in 1913 the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific were joined.

THE *Alliance* PASSING THROUGH GATUN LOCKS, PANAMA CANAL

This was the first ocean steamship to pass through the canal.

Foreign Affairs. The Russo-Japanese Treaty. — Mr. Roosevelt also took a deep interest in what was going on in all the world outside the United States. He watched with grave concern the progress of the war between Japan and Russia which broke out in 1904, and early in the following year he came to the conclusion that the further continuance of the war "would be a very bad thing for Japan and even a worse thing for Russia." He therefore suggested to them that they should begin peace negotiations. As both of them were in dire straits for money to carry on the war, they welcomed this opportunity and sent their agents to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to confer upon the terms of peace. President Roosevelt took keen satisfaction in opening the conference between the representatives of the two powers, and counted among the most noteworthy events of his administration the successful ending of the war.

The Journey of the Fleet around the World (1908). — In order to impress other nations with the interest of the United States in world affairs, President Roosevelt directed an American fleet of sixteen battleships to sail out of Hampton Roads for a trip around the world by way of the Straits of Magellan, San Francisco, Australia, the Philippines, China, Japan, and the Suez Canal. This enterprise caught the attention of every nation, and in the United States the people learned more about the navy in a few weeks than they could have learned in any other way.

The Election of 1908. — As Mr. Roosevelt's administration was drawing to a close many of his friends urged him to become a candidate for the presidency a second time. They said that he had really served only one elective term, beginning in 1905, ruling out of account his service as successor to President McKinley. Mr. Roosevelt refused the nomination, however, declaring that his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, should be selected as his successor. He was able to secure Mr. Taft's nomination by the Republicans in 1908. The Democrats, having failed miserably in 1904 with an eastern candidate, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, turned once more to the West and chose Mr. Bryan, who had already twice been their standard bearer. In the election which followed Mr. Bryan was defeated for the third time. Mr. Taft was inaugurated President on March 4, 1909.

III. TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1912

Tariff-Revision and the Income Tax. — The first task which interested the new President upon taking the oath of office was that of revising the tariff. More than ten years had elapsed since the passage of the last tariff law — the Dingley act of 1897 — and the rapid progress which had taken place in industry suggested that the time had come to change the rates of the duty levied on many imported products. Accordingly Mr. Taft called a special session of Congress, which met on March 11, 1909 and fashioned a new tariff law. This measure, although it reduced the duties on many goods, was on the whole highly protective. Indeed, many Republicans denounced it. Several of them, particularly from the West, broke away from the party and voted against it. The Democrats, who had advocated a decided reduction in the duties, immediately attacked the law.

WILLIAM H. TAFT

In addition to the tariff act Congress passed another measure of great importance in the summer of 1909; namely, a resolution amending the Constitution of the United States, to give Congress power to collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived (p. 526). The resolution was approved by three fourths of the states and put into effect in 1913, as the Sixteenth Amendment.

Postal Savings Banks. — Two other important laws were passed during President Taft's administration. The first of these, enacted in 1910, provided for a system of savings banks to be conducted by the post offices of the United States government. This had long been demanded as a help to people who could make only small savings and needed some absolutely secure place to deposit them.

The Parcel Post. — A law creating a system of parcel post had been urged in Congress for many years, but it was vigorously opposed, especially by the representatives of express companies. They contended that their business would be ruined if the government should undertake to carry parcels, as well as letters and papers, at a low rate. After much debate Congress, by a law which went into effect January 1, 1913, ordered the Post Office Department to lay the country out into zones and to provide low rates for carrying and delivering certain kinds of parcels.

Dissolution of the Trusts. — Mr. Taft insisted that some of the great trusts and combinations, like the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company, were violating the Sherman Anti-trust Law of 1890, and he instructed the Attorney General to press the prosecutions begun against these concerns in Mr. Roosevelt's administration. In May, 1911, the Supreme Court handed down decisions declaring that these two companies were violating the law by unduly restraining or interfering with business. Each one of them was accordingly broken up into several companies, which were supposed to compete with each other and thus prevent monopolies from arbitrarily fixing the prices of oil and tobacco products.

Growing Dissatisfaction with Republican Rule. — Notwithstanding President Taft's work in securing a revision of the tariff, prosecuting the trusts, and urging such reforms as the postal savings-bank law, there was much discontent in the country with the Republican party. In the House of Representatives the Democrats complained that the Speaker, Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, conducted business in an arbitrary manner and did not give the ordinary member of the House a chance to be heard. Some Republicans shared this view, and in March, 1910, after stormy and exciting scenes, the House reduced Speaker Cannon's power by ousting him from the committee on rules and depriving him of the right to appoint its members. In the autumn of 1910 the discontent among the voters was so widespread that the Republicans were turned out of power in the House and a majority of Democratic representatives was elected.

Quarrels between Congress and President Taft. — The remaining years of Mr. Taft's administration were marked by dissensions between himself and Congress. The Democrats in the House, as a matter of course, insisted on having a revision of the tariff which would materially reduce the duties, particularly on woolen goods, sugar, agricultural implements, and iron and steel products. Indeed, with the aid of independent Republicans in the Senate, tariff-reform measures were passed, only to be vetoed by the President.

The President was sorely disappointed when, in 1911, a large number of Republicans voted against his plan to establish reciprocity of trade with Canada. After it was finally adopted by Congress, Canada rejected it. He was able to secure no other important legislation, with the Democrats in power in the House of Representatives and a large number of Republicans dissatisfied with his policies.

The Progressive Republicans. — A group of Mr. Taft's party colleagues who opposed his administration called themselves Progressive Republicans, and as early as 1911 began to hold meetings with a view to preventing his renomination. Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, took the leadership in this movement and became a candidate for the nomination. In February, 1912, Roosevelt also entered the lists against Taft.

The Republican Presidential Primary. — A number of states, including Oregon, California, Illinois, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, had passed presidential-primary laws giving the voters the right to express their choice for President directly at the polls. Taking advantage of the opportunity to appeal directly to the party voters, Roosevelt and Taft took the stump, each endeavoring to secure a majority of delegates. When the Republican convention met at Chicago it was found that many of the states had sent two contesting delegations, one instructed for Roosevelt and the other for Taft.

The Split in the Republican Convention. — At once there arose a dispute over the right of these contesting delegates to sit in the convention. After a long dispute enough of Taft's delegates were seated to assure his nomination. Thereupon Roosevelt's friends "bolted" the convention, declaring that their rights had been "stolen" from them. After the "bolters" were gone, the remaining delegates proceeded to choose Taft as the Republican candidate for President.

Formation of the Progressive Party. — So strong was the opposition of Roosevelt's friends to the conduct of the Republican convention that they decided to found a new organization known as the "Progressive Party." They called a convention of Progressive delegates at Chicago in August.

The Progressives at their first national assembly nominated Roosevelt for the presidency and put forward a platform favoring many doctrines that had formerly been advocated only by minor parties. They indorsed such reforms as direct presidential primaries, the initiative and referendum, popular election of United States Senators, the short ballot, and woman suffrage. They approved, also, many measures in favor of labor, such as the prohibition of child labor, minimum wages for women and children, and the protection of the working people by laws safeguarding their health and safety. The Progressives also denounced all attempts to break up the great trusts and combinations, and urged instead that these should be so regulated as to prevent them from charging exorbitant prices and mistreating competitors.

The Democrats Nominate Woodrow Wilson. — The split in the Republican Party was greeted with joy by the Democrats, whose convention met at Baltimore on June 25th. When the convention assembled it was discovered that, while Champ Clark, of Missouri, had a majority of all the delegates, he could not secure the nomination because it required a two-thirds vote. After a long contest, Mr. Bryan threw his support to Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey and secured his nomination. In the election which followed, the Democrats were easily victorious.

IV. WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION

New Laws. — When Mr. Wilson was inaugurated on March 4, 1913, certain tasks lay clearly before the Democratic party; and under President Wilson's open and vigorous leadership Congress enacted an unusually striking program of legislation:

1. *The Tariff.* The first task was the fulfillment of the pledge to revise the tariff, and accordingly the President called a special session to undertake that work. After many months of debate and the firm insistence of the President that there should be no neglect of duty, Congress passed the

Underwood-Simmons bill, which for the first time in decades materially reduced the tariff on many important commodities.

2. *Income Tax.* With the tariff measure Congress coupled a law imposing a tax on incomes, making up, in part at least, for the revenue lost by the reduction of the tariff.

3. *Clayton Law.* Congress then enacted the Clayton Anti-trust Law, which was designed to destroy the great monopolies and trusts by breaking them up into small concerns and by prohibiting underselling and unfair methods of many kinds. The same law declared that labor was not a commodity, and that labor unions were not trusts or combinations in restraint of trade, liable to prosecution for interference with wages and conditions of employment. Congress also provided that whenever the judge of a federal court issued an order or injunction forbidding strikers to carry out their plans, he could not imprison them for disobeying without affording them the right of trial by jury.

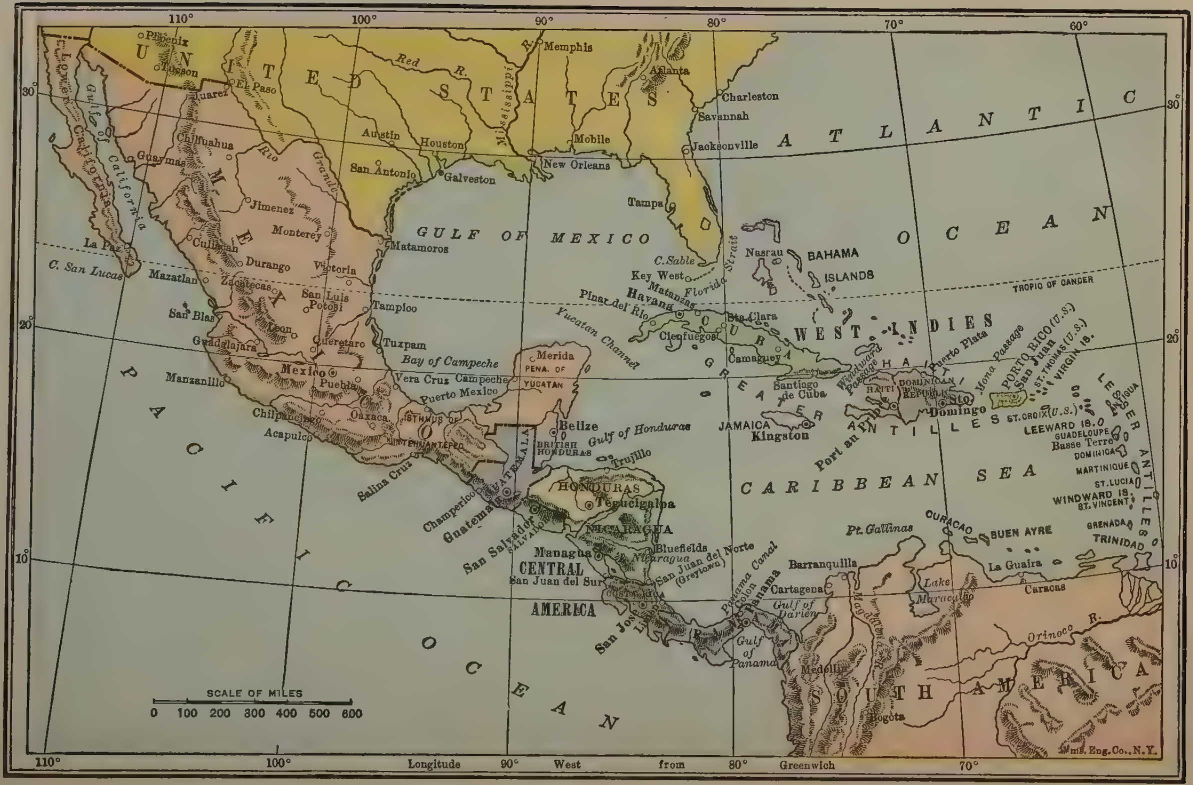
4. *Federal Reserve Law.* The law against the trusts was followed by an act creating a new federal banking system designed among other things to reduce the power of great banking centers like New York (p. 531).

Troubles with Mexico. — On the day of his inauguration President Wilson faced serious troubles with Mexico. In 1911 a revolution had broken out there and General Porfirio Diaz, who, as president, had long ruled the country with an iron hand, was overthrown. His successor, Francisco Madero, was hardly installed before he was assassinated and a dictatorship set up under General Huerta in February, 1913.

American Interests in Mexico. — The disturbances in Mexico were of serious moment to the United States. Many American citizens in that country were killed in the course of the civil war, and the lives of others were in constant jeopardy. Americans who had millions of dollars invested in Mexican mines, oil wells, plantations, and other ventures found their incomes cut off and their property destroyed or seized. During Mr. Taft's administration the situation had already become so serious that he felt impelled to warn the Mexican government against violating American rights. His warning was without effect, and Mr. Wilson, on assuming authority, was urged to send troops into Mexico to protect American interests and restore order.

The Vera Cruz Expedition. — From the very beginning, however, President Wilson insisted that the Mexicans had a right to settle their own problems and that the United States government ought not to wage war on them. It was argued that the tyrannical government of General Diaz and the cruel treatment of peons or serfs on the plantations had been largely responsible for the revolution, and that the Mexicans should be permitted to work out their destiny in their own way. Of course, this meant that there would be much disorder, and perhaps some loss of American property and life. President Wilson, however, refused to recognize Huerta as president, attempted settlement by negotiations with revolutionary leaders, and sent an expedition to Vera Cruz, which resulted in the flight of Huerta.

United States Troops Sent into Mexico. — The President's patience was exhausted in the spring of 1916 when a Mexican bandit, Villa, with a small troop, crossed into New Mexico and deliberately murdered a number of American citizens. It was apparent that the Mexican president, Carranza, who in the counter-revolution of 1913 had succeeded Huerta, was unable to prevent such outrages, and President Wilson dispatched divisions of the regular army and the national guard to the border. He ordered



THE CARIBBEAN REGION

General Pershing to follow Villa and seize him if possible. Under this order, American troops penetrated more than a hundred miles into Mexico, but they were unable to capture the troublesome bandit. The prospect of war with Germany early in 1917 made it impossible for the United States to give so much attention to Mexican affairs and American troops were withdrawn. President Carranza was given a free rein in his efforts to bring peace and good order to his distracted country.

The Caribbean. *The Nature of American Interests.* — The policy of non-intervention was not pursued by President Wilson in the case of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, where disorders were raging about the same time. The island of Haiti is a part of the important Caribbean region, one of a long chain of islands stretching from the coast of Florida to the coast of South America. It lies in a direct line between Cuba, now under the protection of the United States, and the island of Porto Rico. It also lies athwart the route from Europe to the Panama Canal, and if it should fall into the hands of a hostile European power it would be a source of danger to American interests.

The Dominican Republic. — The significance of the island had long been understood by American statesmen. In 1905 the Dominican Republic, which occupies the eastern portion, was in a state of financial distress, and France and Italy were preparing to collect by force of arms, if necessary, debts due their citizens. President Roosevelt, on the request of the Dominican president, assumed the rôle of mediator. By a treaty of 1907 the government of the United States undertook to manage the revenues of the little republic and pay the creditors, thus forestalling European intervention. Four years later, one of the periodical revolutions from which the republic suffers —

there were twenty between 1865 and 1895 — broke out, and continued until President Wilson came into office. In October, 1914, American officers and marines were instructed to "supervise" the elections in the republic. Later, American troops were employed to put down a revolt which arose in connection with the elections. It became evident, therefore, that the government of the United States had adopted the policy of keeping order there, and for practical purposes the Dominican Republic was a "protectorate" of this country.

Haiti. — A similar condition of affairs obtained in the neighboring republic of Haiti. In the summer of 1915 a revolution broke out, — one of a continuous series lasting from 1804 to the opening of the twentieth century — and American marines were landed to restore order. In September, 1916, a treaty was made with Haiti by which the United States undertook to control the police and manage the finances.

The Purchase of the Danish West Indies. — In line with this policy of guarding American interests in the Caribbean was the purchase of the Danish Islands just off the eastern coast of Porto Rico, in 1917. Twice before, the United States had arranged to buy these islands: once in 1867, when the American Senate refused to agree to the purchase, and again in 1902, when the Upper House of the Danish parliament, no doubt under the influence of Germany, voted against the plan. When the last treaty of purchase was made with Denmark, Germany, being engaged in a life and death struggle, was in no position to interfere. So in the summer of 1917 the Stars and Stripes were hoisted over the Virgin Islands, — St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. What is the meaning of the phrase "conservation of natural resources"? What natural resources have been needlessly wasted in this country? This waste has been called a "crime against posterity"; what is meant by this statement? 2. What is meant by "irrigation"? How is the irrigation of arid lands usually accomplished? What are the advantages of farming under a system of artificial irrigation as compared with farming where one depends upon rainfall? What are the disadvantages?

II. 1. When and by whom was the first attempt made to construct a Panama canal? What led to a renewal of interest in this project? 2. From a study of the map of Central America find what advantages the Nicaragua route for the canal between the oceans had over the Panama route. What were its disadvantages? 3. How did the United States come into possession of the Canal Zone? 4. When was the American work on the canal begun? When was the canal opened? 5. Whose name is connected with the digging of the canal, and what difficulties did this man overcome? 6. What war was ended by the Treaty of Portsmouth?

III. 1. Why was there so keen a demand for postal savings banks? For the "parcel post"? Why were these extensions of the government's service to the people opposed? 2. What great "trusts" were "dissolved" in 1911? What did this "dissolution" mean? 3. What were the causes of President Taft's difficulties with Congress? 4. What new party was formed in 1912? What led to its organization? 5. What is the difference between the "popular" vote for President and the "electoral" vote? Why did the framers of the Constitution provide for the election of the President by means of the "electoral college"? Under what conditions is a candidate likely to be elected without receiving a majority of the popular vote? (Lincoln, Cleveland, and Wilson have been "minority" presidents, each in one of his two terms.)

IV. 1. What important laws were passed in the early part of Mr. Wilson's first administration? 2. How did the trouble with Mexico begin? 3. Mr. Wilson's policy of "watchful waiting" in the Mexican troubles between 1913 and 1916 was severely criticized by many persons. What were their reasons for desiring intervention and what were his reasons for not intervening? 4. What control does the United States exert over the Dominican Republic and Haiti? 5. How did the Virgin Islands come to be American possessions?

Review: Make a table of the Presidents from 1865 to 1917, and under each President give a list of the important events that happened during his administration.

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Topics for individual study and report:
   The duties of the forest rangers.
   See Wheeler's "The Boy with the U. S. Foresters."
   The Panama canal.
      Early work of the French.
      The service of Gorgas in making the Canal Zone safe for the workman.
      The digging of the canal.
      The construction of the locks.
      The "slides" and methods of dealing with the problem.
      The influence of the canal on commerce.
   See Hall and Chester's "Panama and the Canal."

2. Find in Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution, the clause with which the Supreme Court held the income tax law of 1894 to be inconsistent.

3. Give as many reasons as you can explaining why the Mexican people have so far been much less successful in establishing a democratic government than have the people of the United States. What in your opinion are some of the important things that must be done by any people if a truly democratic form of government is to be successfully established?

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE GREAT WAR

Europe on Fire. — During the opening days of August, 1914, the people of the United States were startled by the dreadful news that the great powers of Europe were at war. It seemed impossible; but it was true. Austria had accused Serbia of taking part in a plot which resulted in the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand (the heir to the Austrian throne) and his wife, and had made humiliating demands upon the Serbian government. Russia, unwilling to see Serbia destroyed, made serious objections. Germany, armed to the teeth, assured Austria that her support would be forthcoming at all costs. France knew that to abandon Russia in that hour would leave herself isolated and helpless before Germany at some later time.

On the first of August the conflict began, with England still hanging in the balance. Soon the Kaiser's hosts were sweeping into neutral Belgium, whose safety had been guaranteed by all the powers, and driving at the heart of France. The German military staff had planned to seize the French capital, thus paralyzing the Republic by one swift and stunning blow; and then, with the aid of Austria, to destroy Russia at leisure, making the German Empire the master of Europe. Great Britain, knowing that a victorious Germany, standing over the prostrate forms of France and Belgium, would soon challenge her very existence as well as her world empire, sprang to their aid.

I. American Neutrality

The President's Proclamation. — Overcome by the horror of it all, the people of the United States were for a time like dazed spectators, unable to appreciate the red terror that was devastating Europe, hoping without encouragement that the storm would soon pass. President Wilson on August 18, 1914, issued a proclamation advising all citizens to "act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned."

This was advice difficult to follow. Many Americans of German birth or parentage instinctively sympathized with the Fatherland, and many Irish, remembering their struggle for home rule, joined them in wishing defeat to Great Britain. Americans of the old native stock, deeply moved by Germany's cruelty to Belgium and remembering their ties to England and their gratitude to France for aid in the American Revolution, took the other side. They grew more and more pronounced in their support of the Allies against Germany and Austria as the Germans began to bomb English open towns and destroy merchant ships and their crews at sea. Between the groups was a large third party of citizens who sought at all costs to keep the United States from becoming embroiled in the struggle.

Arguments for American Inaction. — When it was urged that the United States could not be indifferent to the outcome of the war, advocates of non-intervention replied that the war was simply another case of the "pot calling the kettle black," that England and France had seized colonies in all parts of the world and oppressed other nationalities in India, Africa, and China, and that they were now objecting to Germany's attempt to follow their own example. It was repeatedly said also that the Russian autocracy was at least equally responsible with Germany for the war. As between the Romanoffs in Russia and the Hohenzollerns in Germany, there appeared to them to be little to choose. All in all, those who took such views in one form or another declared that under no circumstances should the United States join in "a selfish scramble for spoils and power."

Difficulties in the Way of a Strict Neutrality: *Trade Relations with the Allies.* — To the pacifists, it seemed a simple matter for this country to close its doors and windows and let the storm rage, but in truth it was not at all a simple matter. The United States had long carried on a large and varied trade with all the countries of Europe — those at war and those at peace — belligerents and neutrals. Ships plying between our ports and those of Europe, trans-Atlantic cables, mails, and wireless telegraphy bound us to the Old World nations with a thousand ties. With war raging these could not remain undisturbed.

It had long been recognized by all nations that a belligerent has the right to blockade the ports of his enemy if he can. This right the government of the United States had exercised with telling effect against the Southern states during the Civil War. It had also been long recognized that a belligerent has the right to intercept all war supplies (contraband goods) destined for his enemy, no matter by whom carried and to what port immediately shipped, even that of a friendly power.

Great Britain immediately took full advantage of these rights. She swept German ships from the ocean, blockaded the German ports, searched ships bound to neutral countries for war supplies destined to Germany, and thus throttled German foreign commerce. British triumph at sea gave enormous advantages to the Allies. Trade could flow without interruption to their ports, because Germany, having no battleships on the seas, could not blockade their ports or disturb their merchant vessels.

The Trade in Food-supplies and Munitions. — During the opening months of the war the citizens of the United States built up a huge trade with England and France in foodstuffs and war supplies. Seeing the fruits of the triumph at sea gathered by the Allies, the Germans both in this country and in Germany began to protest vigorously. To Americans of pacific leanings it seemed dreadful for our manufacturers to be engaged in selling billions of dollars' worth of death-dealing instruments to England and France. The German government did not officially protest, however, because German munition-makers had been the chief purveyors of war materials during previous wars. They could not with a straight face object to American manufacturers following in their footsteps. That was not all. This country could not deny the right of a neutral government to sell arms to belligerents without laying up trouble for itself in the future. If a nation cannot expect to buy military supplies from other countries in time of war, then it must make huge preparations for the future by turning its industries into gigantic munitions plants, in order to be ready for the greatest emergency that may arise. Such was the reply made to Austria when that country addressed the United States on the subject.

An Embargo on Exports Impossible. — There was only one way that the United States could fully satisfy the friends of Germany. That was by following the example set by Jefferson more than a hundred years before and destroying all foreign trade by an embargo. But that would have put the government of the United States in a dilemma equally trying: it would have been a direct blow at England and France. They would have considered it as an "unfriendly" act to cut off their trade after they had bottled up the German navy and made way for that trade. Moreover an embargo would have been a confession that American shippers, traders, and manufacturers had no rights of trade abroad that any country was bound to respect. If the United States had renounced its rights of trade with the Allies, it would have been an unwarranted favor to Germany and an equally unwarranted wrong to England and France. No matter which way the government of the United States turned, trouble lay in the path.

American Protests to England.—As to American trade with the Allies on the open seas, the German government had no grounds for objection; but it was justified, undoubtedly, in protesting against the manner in which Great Britain exercised her rights of blockade and search. British officers rummaged Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and other neutral ships for war supplies, letters, papers, and other valuables destined for Germany and seized many things that were lawfully sent. Against this action on the part of the British government, the United States protested, and demanded a discontinuance of the illegal practices. Even if Great Britain had kept always within the narrowest limits of the law, her control of the sea would have practically destroyed the ocean-borne trade of the German Empire.

II. THE SUBMARINE OUTRAGES; THE CAMPAIGN OF 1916

Germany Adopts a Ruthless Submarine Policy. *The "Lusitania" Sunk (May 7, 1915).*—Germany, finding herself thus throttled, attempted to break Great Britain's hold. In the winter of 1915 the German government announced that its submarines would sink British merchant vessels wherever found on the high seas. Under international law it had long been agreed that warships should not destroy merchantmen belonging to an enemy (unless, of course, they resisted) without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew. American citizens thus had the right to expect to travel with safety not only on American merchant vessels but also on those of the warring countries of Europe. So things stood when, on May 7, 1915, a German submarine startled the world by destroying, without warning to the captain, a great British passenger vessel, the *Lusitania*, and killing hundreds of innocent passengers and members of the crew, including a number of American citizens — men, women, and children. In a few weeks German submarines had gathered in a deadly harvest of merchant ships, some of them owned by Americans and manned by American crews.

Germany Agrees to Modify Submarine Warfare. — The destruction of the *Lusitania* and innocent non-combatants, including American citizens, horrified the people of the United States, even some who had sympathized with Germany in her struggles. President Wilson in a few days dispatched to the German government a note asking it to disavow such acts, make reparation for the injuries done, and take steps to prevent similar occurrences in the future. The President added the solemn warning that the United States would not "omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duties of maintaining the rights of the United States and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment." Germany's reply was evasive. President Wilson wrote a second note, and it was September 1 before Germany promised not to sink merchant vessels without warning and agreed to provide for the safety of the passengers whenever such ships were sunk.

Criticism of President Wilson's Course. — During the exchange of notes with the German government, very strong emotions were aroused in this country. The view was widely held that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was not merely gross violation of the rights of American citizens, but an inhuman act which called for breaking off all relations with the German government, if not the immediate declaration of war. On the other hand, some people were angry because President Wilson was so insistent in his protests against the destruction of American lives by submarines, and yet unwilling to threaten Great Britain with armed force for searching American mails bound to and from Europe. In spite of the criticism from both sides the President steered an even course, determined apparently to keep the country out of war — at least until it was clear that peaceful negotiations with Germany were useless.

The Political Campaign of 1916. — In the midst of this turmoil came the election campaign of 1916. Naturally all eyes were turned toward the Progressives. Mr. Wilson's chances for reëlection seemed to depend to a considerable extent upon the possibility of continued division among his opponents. Signs of reunion appeared when it was stated that the Republican and Progressive conventions would be held in Chicago at the same time. There were some who hoped that the Republicans would nominate Mr. Roosevelt, but Charles E. Hughes, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court and a former governor of New York, was chosen on the third ballot. The Progressives then nominated Mr. Roosevelt. As he declined, the national committee of the party thereupon indorsed Mr. Hughes with the hope of reuniting the two factions. The Democratic convention at St. Louis renominated Mr. Wilson by acclamation.

Issues of the Campaign. — In the campaign which followed, President Wilson's policies with regard to Mexico and Germany were, of course, widely discussed, both parties taking a rather uncertain position as to both countries. There were, in addition, several other issues which received attention: Congress had (1) passed a law against child labor in mines, quarries, and factories; (2) it had fixed the work day for trainmen on railroads at eight hours; (3) it had provided for a banking system to loan money to farmers at a low rate of interest; (4) it had enacted a law designed to encourage the upbuilding of the American merchant marine; and (5) it had declared the intention of the United States to free the Philippine Islands as soon as the people there were ready for self-government. The eight-hour law for trainmen had been enacted in the summer of 1916, when the railway unions were threatening the country with a general strike. President Wilson, refusing to recommend the arbitration of the matter, declared in favor of the principle of an eight-hour day and urged Congress to pass the law in spite of the protests of the railway companies. Mr. Hughes, without attacking the eight-hour day, denounced the method employed to secure it. The issue of woman suffrage was also brought into the campaign.

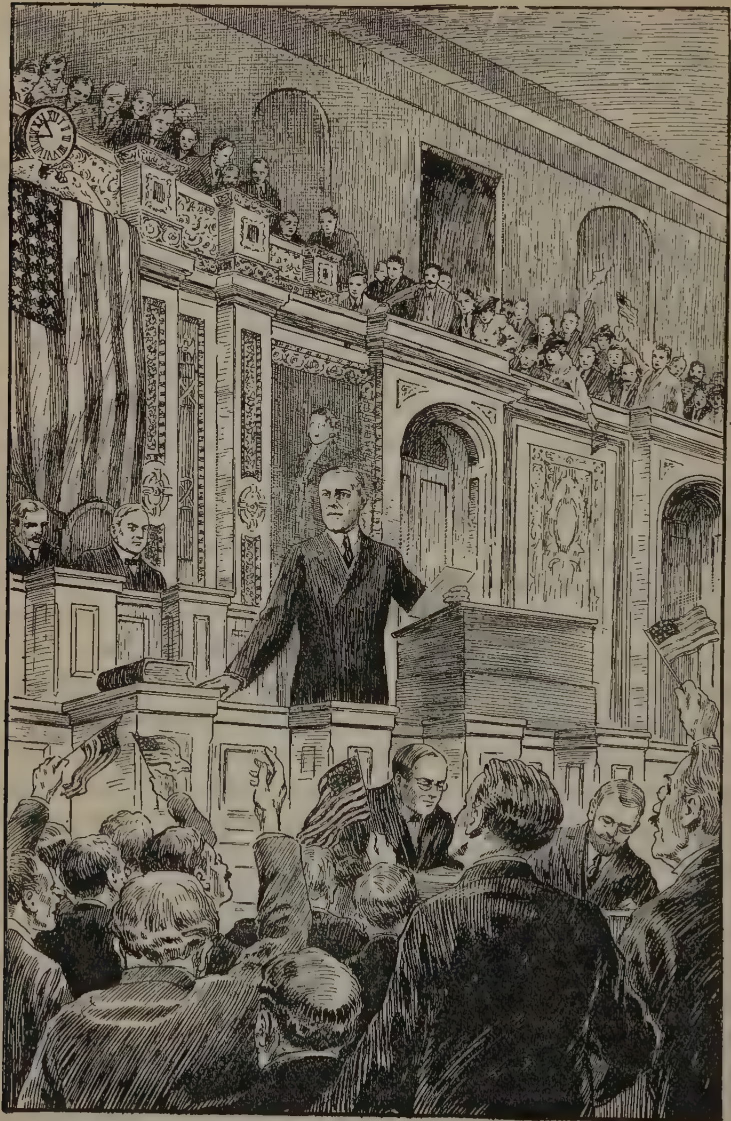
President Wilson Reëlected. — The election of November, 1916, proved to be a general surprise. Mr. Hughes carried all the great industrial and commercial states of the North and East except Ohio, and on the early returns from these states his election was conceded. Then the tide turned. It was found that Mr. Wilson, in addition to carrying the "solid South," which in presidential elections has been Democratic, had gained immensely in the West. In that part of the country the Progressives had not gone back to the Republican fold. Even California, which elected the Republican candidate to the United States Senate, Governor Hiram Johnson, by a large majority, cast a small but safe margin of votes in favor of Mr. Wilson. The President's popular vote showed a gain of about 2,000,000 over that of 1912, and was quite naturally regarded as a great personal tribute to him, especially in view of the fact that the Democrats almost lost their majority in the House of Representatives. The Socialist vote fell considerably below that of the preceding presidential election, largely on account of the fact that many Socialists approved Mr. Wilson's policy in dealing with labor and in keeping the country out of war.

III. WAR WITH GERMANY

Germany Renews Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. *Bernstorff Dismissed.* — More than a month before Mr. Wilson's second inauguration arrived, namely on January 31, 1917, Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, informed the President that his government, in spite of previous pledges, would renew the submarine war on merchant ships with greater vigor than ever. Without any further parleying, the President sent Ambassador von Bernstorff home, broke off all communications with the German imperial government, and waited to see whether hostile acts would be committed by Germany against American citizens and shipping. He was loath to believe that Germany would sink merchant ships of all countries on sight without attempting to save the lives of crews or passengers. In explaining why he had severed relations with the Kaiser, he said:

> We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the government which speaks for them. . . . God grant that we may not be challenged by acts of willful injustice on the part of the government of Germany.

The hope was vain, for the German government resumed its policy of sinking American ships and destroying American lives without warning and without pity. The challenge had gone forth.



President Wilson Speaking before Congress, April 2, 1917

German Intrigue in the United States. — This was but the climax of a long chain of difficulties which the United States had encountered in dealing with Germany and Austria. Through their official representatives they had hired agitators to foment labor troubles in American industries and engaged desperate men to blow up munition factories, killing hundreds of American men, women, and children. They had employed agents to set bombs in the holds of ships bound to England and France; they had paid newspapers and writers to advocate the German cause and defame the Allies; they had used every means which they could devise to disturb our peace within and our relations with England and France.

These were not the deeds of a few "cranks" but the deliberate acts of calculating men. The charges against them are not hearsay stories. The records of criminal courts, East and West, and the records of prisons bear convincing testimony to Austrian and German violations of American security at home as well as abroad. So active did these foreign agents become before the break with Germany that the President was compelled to send the Austrian ambassador home and to order the removal of subordinates attached to the German embassy at Washington.

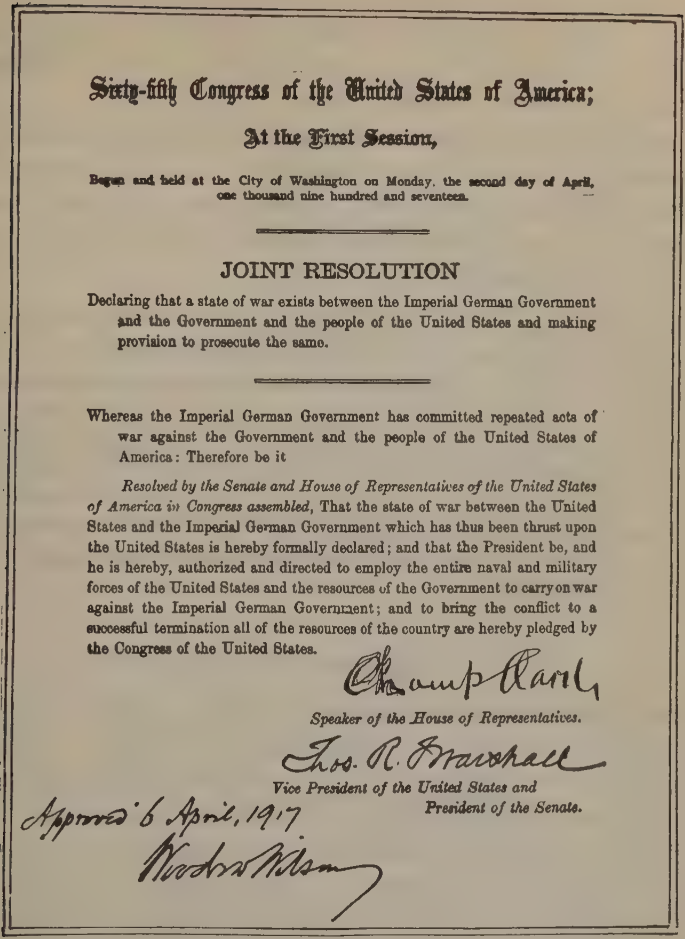
Not content with attempts to set Americans at war with one another, the German government plotted troubles in Mexico. On January 19, 1917, two weeks before President Wilson was informed that Germany would not keep her submarine pledges, the German Foreign Secretary, Herr Zimmermann, had written to the German minister in Mexico, telling him of the coming submarine warfare and instructing him to offer a "restoration" of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, if the Mexican government would join with Japan in an attack on the United States. This last act was so far beyond the bounds of reason that it dispelled the doubts of those American citizens who had not been able to believe that the German government was guilty of the plots and deeds ascribed to it. With a government so bent upon following its own paths, without regard to the rights and feelings of other nations, compromise or further negotiation was impossible. Only one course lay before the President, and resolutely he set out in it.

War Declared (April 6, 1917). — On April 2, 1917, President Wilson invited Congress to assemble in joint session. He explained to it the duty of the United States in the pending crisis. He recited the deeds of Germany which had horrified mankind and made impossible peaceful relations with the Kaiser:

WOODROW WILSON

> Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium . . . have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or principles.

He then told how the German government had filled our unsuspecting cities with spies and carried on criminal intrigues against American peace and industry; how Germany had plotted in Mexico to stir up enemies at the very doors of the United States. With a power so indifferent to American rights and so unscrupulous in its conduct, defying the laws of humanity and the pleas of common sense, friendly relations could no longer be maintained. Indeed the United States had been already assailed by



Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the second day of April, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Champ Clark

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Thos. R. Marshall

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved 6 April, 1917

Woodrow Wilson

The Resolution that Brought Us into the Great War

German power, its ships had been sunk and its citizens killed. President Wilson, therefore, merely asked Congress to recognize the fact that the recent course of the imperial German government was indeed "nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States." After a few days' debate Congress solemnly declared, on April 6, that a state of war existed between Germany and the United States.[1]

The War against the Government, Not the People, of Germany. — In advising Congress to take this course, President Wilson was careful to point out that our quarrel was with the autocratic government of Germany, not with the people of that country.

> We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. . . . It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interests of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. . . . In such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend.

IV. The German Autocracy

The German Government an Autocracy. — In order that we may understand the meaning of President Wilson's distinction between the *people* towards whom we were friendly and the *autocracy* on which we made war, it is necessary for us to examine for a moment the nature of the government of Germany. The German empire was a federation of twenty-two kingdoms, duchies, and principalities, and three "free cities." The king of Prussia was the German emperor by virtue of his right as king. There was an imperial parliament consisting of the imperial council composed of agents of the several kings, princes, and dukes and the three free cities, and also a lower house or *Reichstag* composed of representatives elected by universal manhood suffrage. There was a high minister, the chancellor, who was chosen by the emperor and was responsible to him alone, not to the representatives of the voters as in England and France. Laws could not be made without the consent of the Reichstag, but that was about as far as its power extended. War was made by the emperor, who possessed absolute command of the army and navy. It is true that an "offensive" war required the approval of the imperial council, but that was a mere formality. The popular branch of the government had no control over the declaration of war under any circumstances. It has been correctly called a "talking machine." The emperor appointed officers and ministers without consulting it, and usually found it pliant when he called upon it for grants of money.

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[1] War was not declared on Austria until December, 1917.

Prussia Practically an Absolute Monarchy. — It must be remembered also that the German emperor possessed great powers as king of Prussia, which contained more than one half the population and territory of the empire and sent seventeen of the sixty-one members of the imperial council. It had a "constitution" which was "graciously" granted by the king to the people in 1850. Under this constitution the government of Prussia was in the hands of the king and a few great landlords ("Junkers") and rich men. There was, it is true, a "popular branch" composed of delegates elected by the voters, but the election system was so arranged that two thirds of the "popular" representatives were chosen by a small group of wealthy men, while the great mass of the voters could select only one third of the delegates. In Prussia the king ruled by divine right. There he was "King, by the Grace of God." The people were his "subjects" in name and in fact. The inhabitants of Prussia had protested against this system for many years before the war, but without effect. The Kaiser and the Prussian ruling class were determined to keep their power and to beat down the democratic aspirations of their subjects.

The Iron Rule of the Hohenzollerns in Prussia. — The history of Prussia and this system of government is mainly the history of one ruling family, the House of Hohenzollern, which began more than three hundred years ago to build the little district of Brandenburg into a great kingdom. By devoting enormous sums to the army and treating the people as mere taxpayers and "food for cannon," the Hohenzollerns succeeded in establishing a strong military power. They seized the territory of their neighbors without qualms and without apologies. They made war first upon one country and then upon another, always in the hope of gaining more territory.

By this method they and their barons were able to form the German empire and bring the whole country under their dominion. While other nations were throwing aside kings or reducing their power to a shadow, the Hohenzollerns waxed stronger and stronger, commanding the army with an iron hand, teaching in the schools obedience to kings, and putting down popular uprisings with sternness and cruelty. In theory and in fact Germany was ruled by the German emperor, king of Prussia, and a handful of generals and barons. The voice of the people was nothing but a voice crying in the night.

The Hohenzollerns' Dream of World Dominion. — As long as the Hohenzollerns confined their seizures of property to their German neighbors they made little trouble for the rest of the world. In 1871, however, after fomenting a war with France, they tore Alsace-Lorraine away from that country, as Bismarck frankly said, for the purpose of weakening the republic and sowing seeds of bitterness and warlike feeling there, thus giving an excuse for maintaining German military power. After the establishment of the German empire in 1871 and the remarkable growth of German commerce and industry, the imperial government began to look upon the army and the navy as means for getting possession of more territories beyond the seas and destroying the British empire. Victorious over Denmark in 1864 and over Austria in 1866, triumphant over France in 1871, the Hohenzollern dynasty was looking for new worlds to conquer. German editors, professors, and publicists began to write about "world power," to be won by force of arms. With soldiers drilled, disciplined, and equipped with instruments of destruction as no soldiers had ever been before, the Hohenzollerns looked forward with confidence to the overthrow of Great Britain and the extension of their power throughout the world. With colonies in Africa, posts in China, coaling stations in the Pacific, banks and industries everywhere in Latin-America, there seemed no limit to German ambitions if Great Britain could be beaten down, sooner or later.

The Need of Crushing German Militarism Recognized. — It was against a government conceived in military despotism and dedicated to the proposition that kings can do no wrong that President Wilson asked his country to take up arms. To say that the outcome of the war in Europe was of no concern to the United States was to ignore forty years of German history. Thousands of peaceful citizens, though looking with horror upon the thought of war, were slowly and reluctantly driven by events to the conclusion that a German victory in Europe meant danger for the United States in the coming years. They realized that, with Great Britain beaten and her colonies annexed by Germany, America would not be spared by a power founded on the sword.

They remembered the hundred years of peace which we had maintained with the British empire; they recalled the three thousand miles of border between this country and Canada, without a fort or battleship or patrol; and they could not bring themselves to believe that with the Hohenzollerns entrenched anywhere in this hemisphere the United States could go on her way undisturbed by German intrigues, spies, and military ambitions. To them the triumph of the German war machine, dominating all Europe, would make vain and foolish two centuries of struggle for popular government, for popular control over the power of kings and aristocracies, for the extension of the suffrage and the advancement of democracy on the earth. They took the ground that it was an economy of time, blood, and treasure to crush Prussian militarism, while so many other nations were ready to help. Thus the fear of German ideals and German militarism brought Europe to our doors and the battle fields of France near to Lexington and Yorktown. Some Americans could not see it in this light, and clung with desperation to peace at all costs; but the mass of the American people believed that the President had seen a true vision and made a call which could not be denied.

V. A Democracy at War

No doubt the task before the United States was staggering in its size. With their best energies for three hundred years devoted to preparation for war, the Hohenzollerns were well equipped for frightfulness. Though blocked in the West by the armies of Great Britain and France and in the East by the armies of Russia, they were able to keep at bay such military forces as the world had never seen before. The work to be done was serious and the government of the United States took it seriously.

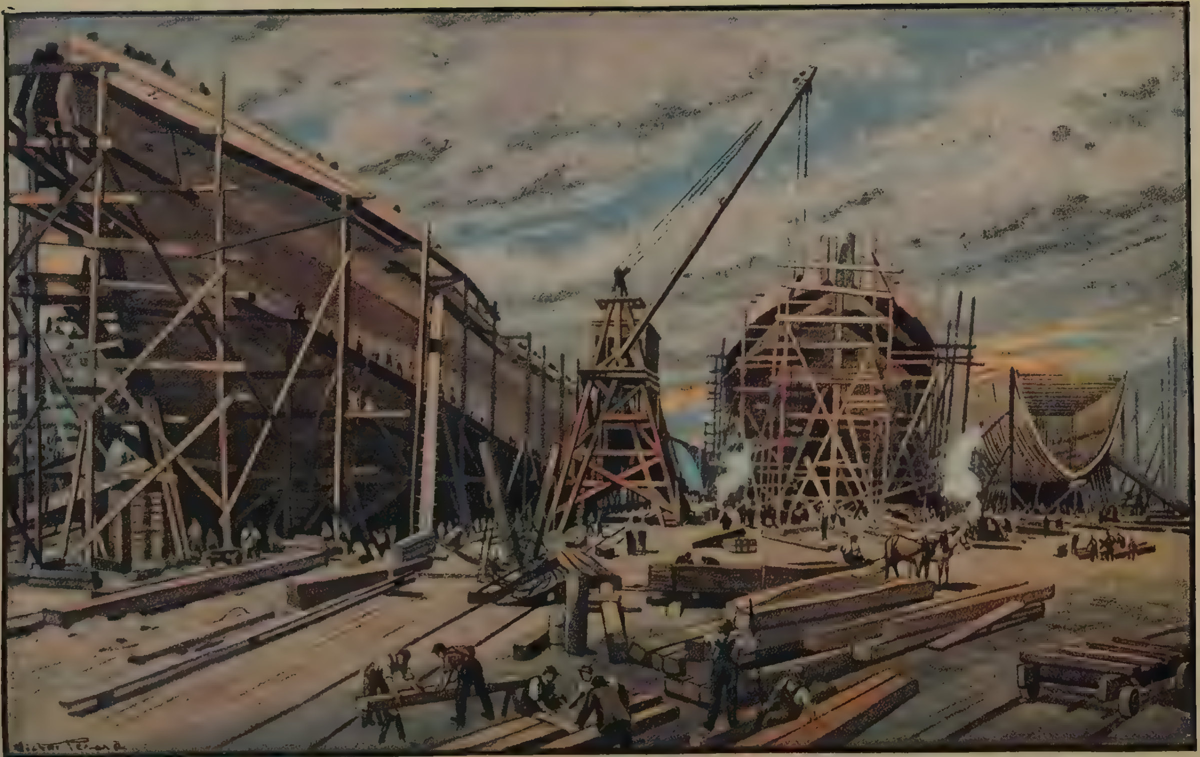
The Army and the Navy. — The Great War was a war of nations, not of armies alone; and the first question confronting the American government was whether it should rely upon volunteers or follow in the footsteps of France and England and summon all the people to arms or war work. Although it was an old principle that the duty of aiding in national defense rests upon every male capable of bearing arms, the principle had been seldom applied, the notable exception being the draft of the Civil War (p. 397), and many Americans believed conscription of men contrary to American traditions and ideals. Those who held to this view urged that the draft should be the last resort, to be used only in case the call for volunteers failed to raise the required armies. Others believed that the burdens of war should be distributed as equitably as possible and that to defend democracy was a duty as well as a privilege. The counsels of the latter prevailed.

On May 18, 1917, Congress enacted the selective draft law declaring that the national army should be impartially chosen from among all males between the ages of 21 and 31 inclusive. By proclamation, June 5 was fixed as the day for national military registration. In August, 1918, Congress passed a supplementary law extending the period of years to include all men between 18 and 45 inclusive, and September 12 was appointed the day for registration. The regular army of the United States and the naval forces were materially increased by volunteers. When the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, General Pershing reported that there were in Europe and on the way from the United States more than two million American soldiers, less our losses, besides about the same number in camps at home. Our losses in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing were more than 225,000.

Raising the Money. — With the conscription of men came a demand for the "conscription of wealth." Heretofore wars had been paid for mainly out of borrowed money and the cost thus shifted to future generations. That is, the soldiers *gave* their lives on the field of battle and the rich *lent* their money to the government at a good rate of interest. As soon as the war with Germany broke out, there came a plea from all sections of the country that Congress avoid this old practice and provide for paying at least a large share of the war bills out of current taxes, especially out of taxes imposed upon the large profits of industries and the incomes of the rich and well-to-do. Under the old plan a man who had a thousand dollars could lend it to the government and receive his annual interest, and the return of the principal in due time. Under the new system, the government would take from him a large share of his thousand dollars and give him neither interest nor principal in return for that share.

In response to the popular demand, Congress imposed heavy taxes on incomes, on inheritances, and on the excess profits of industries. The rest of the money, running into the billions, was raised by Liberty Loans (that is, by the sale of interest-bearing bonds to the people) and also by the sale of War Savings Stamps. The great mass of the people joined in buying bonds, large and small, the government having made provision for little bonds of the denomination of $50. It is estimated that there were 4,500,000 subscribers to the First Liberty Loan and 21,000,000 to the Fourth Loan. In spite of the heavy taxes and the sale of bonds and stamps, the people gave hundreds of millions to the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish agencies, and other great war work associations.

Food and War Supplies. — In order to furnish adequate supplies to the troops and aid in the fair distribution of food and fuel among the people at home, Congress enacted, on August 10, 1917, a drastic food and fuel control law. This law forbade (1) the willful destruction of the neces-



BUILDING LIBERTY SHIPS ON THE PACIFIC COAST, 1918 saries of life for the purpose of increasing prices; (2) restricting and hoarding food supplies and committing waste; (3) attempting to monopolize supplies or to limit facilities for producing or transporting supplies; and (4) limiting manufacture with a view to increasing prices. The President of the United States was authorized (1) to requisition food or other supplies for the support of the army and navy; (2) to lay down rules governing the marketing of foodstuffs; (3) to fix the price of wheat; (4) to seize and operate, if necessary, factories, mines, packing houses, and other plants; (5) to fix the prices of supplies for military purposes; and (6) to fix the price of coal and coke. Mr. Herbert Hoover, who had won fame in Belgian relief work, was made national food administrator.

Labor. — As President Wilson declared early in the war, "the men who remain to till the soil and man the factories are no less a part of the army that is in France than the men beneath the battle flags." For this reason he appealed to American labor to man the factories and mines with uninterrupted vigor. He pledged his word that the conditions of labor would not be made more onerous and that steps taken to improve labor conditions would not be blocked or checked. Mr. Samuel Gompers, speaking for the American Federation, pledged the loyal support of organized labor. A National War Labor Board, headed by Ex-President Taft and Mr. Frank Walsh, was created for the purpose of adjusting, by arbitration and conciliation, the disputes arising in industry.

Railways and Shipping. — The problem of transporting guns, ammunition, and other supplies to the Eastern seaports for shipment beyond the seas and of supplying factories with materials and cities with food presented grave difficulties. On April 11, 1917, the great railway companies joined in a plan to unite all their lines in aid of the government. In December of that year the railways were placed under government control and operation by presidential proclamation. In March, 1918, Congress passed a railroad control bill providing the terms and conditions under which the government was to operate the roads during the war and for a period of 21 months after the proclamation of peace. In July, 1918, the express companies were brought under government supervision; in August, the telephone and telegraph companies were taken over; and later the cable lines passed into the hands of the government.

Shipping was of course of equal importance with railways, and the President was authorized by law to buy and build ships practically without limit. Every available shipyard was brought into immediate service and new yards were built. In a little while the launching of ships for ocean carrying was a daily occurrence. At the time of the declaration of war all German ships in American waters had been seized. In April, 1918, President Wilson added to the government's strength by taking over all the ships engaged in coastwise traffic and placing them under government management. In spite of all our efforts, however, we were compelled to depend to a large extent upon British ships to transport our soldiers and supplies beyond the seas.

The Insurance Act. — Congress passed in October, 1917, an insurance act appropriating huge sums of money to be used for three main purposes: (1) to pay allowances to the families of soldiers and sailors dependent upon their earnings; (2) to compensate officers and enlisted men for disabilities incurred in the war, or their families in case of death; (3) and to provide a relatively inexpensive system of insurance for those in active service, enabling them to make further provisions for themselves or those left behind.

The Espionage Law. — On June 15, 1917, Congress passed a drastic law providing punishment for those who communicated information to foreign nations to the injury of the United States, made false reports with a view to interfering with our military and naval operations, attempted to cause disloyalty, refused duty in the military and naval forces, or obstructed the recruiting and enlistment services of the United States. This law was vigorously enforced, not only against those who sympathized with the enemies of the United States, but also against Socialists and others who opposed the war or criticized the government for entering the war. Among the prominent men convicted under the law were Eugene V. Debs, a former Socialist candidate for President (pp. 515 and 519), and Victor Berger, of Wisconsin, a former member of Congress.

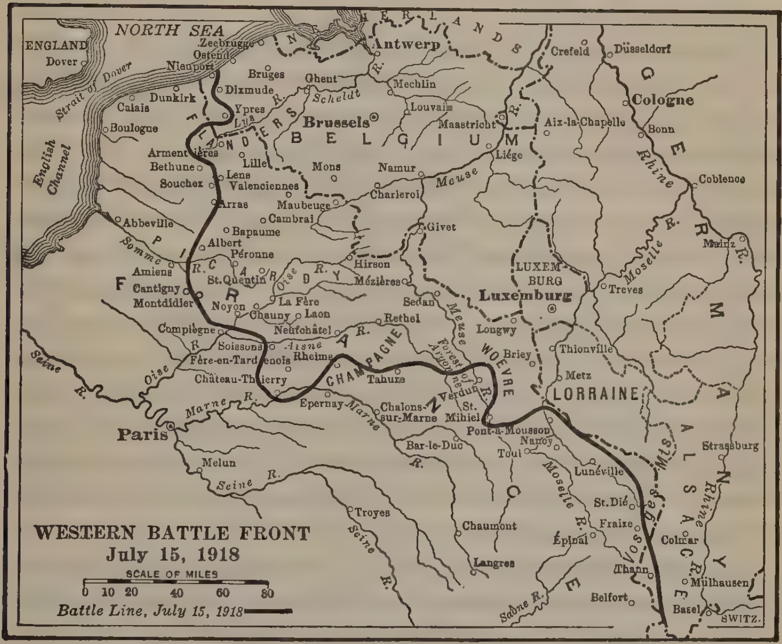
The Alien and Foreign Born. — During the preparations for the great conflict the question naturally arose as to whether the country could really count upon the allegiance of citizens of alien origin. It was forcibly driven home that the easy-going policy of free immigration had brought into the country millions of aliens who cared nothing about the nation and took no interest in its government. It was realized also that citizens of alien origin could not be expected to surrender altogether their affection for their native lands, and stand as wholly impartial judges in time of international controversies and wars. Congress, appreciating as never before the need of restricting immigration to those who can be counted upon as American citizens, passed in 1917, over the President's veto, a law imposing a literacy test on aliens coming into this country in the future.

It was a severe test that was imposed upon the Americans of German origin during this period. Their fathers, sons, and brothers were falling on the field of battle, and the strain upon their affections and sympathies made their burden heavy to bear. Disapproving in many cases the invasion of Belgium or the destruction of the *Lusitania*, they could not believe that the German government would finally wage war on American merchant vessels. With the entrance of the United States into the conflict, there was uncertainty as to the stand which these citizens would take; but President Wilson was right when he said "they are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance."

Although some leading foreign-language newspapers scarcely concealed their hopes for a German victory, the mass of their readers accepted the grave responsibilities which the war imposed upon them. When the agents of the German imperial government were removed from the country, the most serious disturbances from German sources disappeared. Thousands of Germans, particularly the descendants of those who more than sixty years ago had fled before the tyranny of Prussia, openly rejoiced in the prospect of overthrowing the Hohenzollern military power, although they naturally grieved at the thought of ruin to the German nation. Those who feared serious internal disturbances from Americans of German birth were happily disappointed. Only the Socialist party officially went on record as opposing the government in the war, and it was rent in twain, many of its prominent leaders withdrawing and denouncing its conduct as unintelligent and treasonable.

Americans on the High Seas and Battle Front. — At the earliest moment after the declaration of war the government took steps looking to speedy action against the Germans on land and sea. At home naval contingents patroled the coast waters guarding ports and shipping against submarines. Other naval contingents, under Admiral Sims, were sent abroad to coöperate with the Allied navies against German sea power, while other forces helped in the convoy of troop and supply ships across the ocean.

Preparations were likewise made for war on land. General John J. Pershing was appointed commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces. In May, 1917, President Wilson directed the dispatch of a force to France, and in June General Pershing and his staff arrived in Paris. During the latter part of that month American troops began to pour into France and go into training for their duties at the front. On October 27 it was announced that they had fired their first shot in trench warfare. Most of the winter, however, was spent in training. By March 21, 1918, the day when the great German drive on Paris began, there were four divisions of men ready to meet the demands of battle action.


WESTERN BATTLE FRONT
July 15, 1918
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
Battle Line, July 15, 1918

On March 28 General Pershing placed the American troops at the disposal of Marshal Foch, chief of all the forces fighting in France against the Germans. The Americans speedily distinguished themselves in the Montdidier section and at Cantigny. In July, when the Germans seemed almost on the point of taking Paris, the Americans at Château-Thierry and along the Marne helped the heroic French turn the tide of battle, which then began to roll steadily northward.

The first American offensive on a large scale opened at the St. Mihiel salient, which was crushed in during September, 1918. From that time forward, American soldiers continued their main work at the Meuse-Argonne section of the line, where, by stubborn and dogged fighting against the most determined resistance, they steadily drove the Germans back, as the French and English were rolling up the northwestern end of the line into Belgium. Of the conduct of the American men on the field of battle nothing finer has been said than was said by General Pershing in his report of December, 1918: "When I think of their heroism, their patience under hardships, their unflinching spirit of offensive action, I am filled with emotion which I am unable to express. Their deeds are immortal, and they have earned the eternal gratitude of our country."

The Russian Revolution. — The struggle on the western battle front was made all the more severe for the Allies and the Americans by the withdrawal of Russia from the war. In March, 1917, the Czar was overthrown by a revolution. In November the moderate government which followed the autocracy was in turn overthrown by the radical Socialists known as the Bolsheviki, who made peace with the Germans, giving up great portions of the former Czar's dominions. In August, 1918, the United States joined England, Japan, and France in sending troops into Russia to protect supplies.

Steps Looking toward Peace. — While the war was being won on the battle field, there was carried on a steady exchange of views between the warring countries and a continuous discussion of ways and means for preventing wars in the future. On inquiry it was found that trade and commercial rivalry among nations was one of the fruitful sources of war in all ages. Nations with various climates and natural resources inevitably turn to the exchange of goods, and the enterprising merchants and manufacturers of each country seek markets far and wide. The question then resolved itself to this: "Shall each country pursue its own way, gaining trade and commerce at all costs — using the sword to compel other people to buy its goods and to drive out competitors; or shall there be some agreement among nations as to the rules by which trade can be conducted and backward countries managed, so preventing recourse to arms?" The cost of the war, sweeping away the commercial gains of generations, made people think about this more seriously than ever. When it was possible to seize a colony or conquer a province by sending out a small expedition no one thought much about it; but when Germany let loose a world war by drawing the sword to conquer territory and win markets the attention of mankind was forcibly drawn to the necessity of a new kind of agreement.

President Wilson early grasped the significance of the relation of commercial rivalry and territorial ambitions to war, and pressed the matter upon the attention of his countrymen and of the entire world. In calling upon Congress to take up arms in national defense against German aggression, he firmly declared that the United States desired no conquest, no dominion, no indemnities for itself, no material compensation. Again in his message to Russia in May, 1917, he reiterated this declaration, saying: "No people must be forced to live under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payments for manifest wrongs done. . . . And then the free people of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical coöperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another."

In his message to Congress on January 8, 1918, President Wilson laid down his famous "Fourteen Points," constituting the war aims of the United States, and thus informed Germany and Austria of our principles and policies. These he later supplemented. In brief, President Wilson's war aims may be summarized as follows: the abolition of secret treaties between nations, freedom of navigation upon the seas, equality of trade conditions among nations, reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety, fair adjustment of colonial claims, restoration of Russian territory taken away by Germany and freedom for Russia to develop "institutions of her own choosing," restoration of Belgium, righting the wrong done by Germany to France in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along lines of nationality, bringing under Italian government Italian peoples now under other rule, restoration of Serbia, Roumania, and Montenegro, security for other nations now under Turkish rule, freedom of navigation of the Dardanelles, an independent Poland, and a league of nations bound together in a common brotherhood to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Although President Wilson was making clear to the world the principles upon which he believed the war could be brought to an end and a lasting peace concluded, he advocated force to the utmost on the battle field until German military autocracy was overthrown. On September 19, 1918, the world was startled by the news that Bulgaria had surrendered unconditionally to the Allies, thus breaking the eastern front of the Teutonic powers. On October 5 the German chancellor asked the President to take steps looking toward a truce and peace. For a month negotiations went on, Germany becoming more and more anxious as her armies were being roundly beaten on the field of battle. At last, on November 11, an armistice was signed bringing the war to a close amid such rejoicing as the world had never seen. In a few days the German Kaiser was forced to abdicate, the Crown Prince to flee, and the German autocracy came crashing to the ground. On December 4 President Wilson set sail for Europe to attend the grand conference of the powers at which the final terms of peace were to be made.

The Treaty of Peace signed June 28, 1919. — All through the winter, with brief interruptions, work on the great treaty with Germany went on at Paris and, despite many rumors of disagreements, the document was completed early in May. The Germans by protesting against many provisions secured a few slight modifications, and on June 28, 1919, they joined the other powers in signing the treaty. The general settlement at Paris, including the later treaty with Austria, embraced, among other things, three fundamental features: reparation on the part of Germany for the wrongs done and the wanton damage inflicted; important territorial changes; and a League of Nations. Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France; the independence of Poland, Finland, Czecho-slovakia, and Jugo-slavia was recognized; the boundaries of Belgium, Denmark, and Italy were enlarged, German rights in Shantung, China, were transferred to Japan; and the Austro-Hungarian Empire dissolved, Austria and Hungary, reduced in size, becoming independent. The League of Nations covenant, which is a part of the treaty, provides for a union of the allied and associated governments for the settlement of international disputes, to which the other powers may be admitted when their governments are stable and their intention of obeying treaty obligations is demonstrated. Early in July, President Wilson returned to the United States and took up the task of securing from the Senate the ratification of the settlement reached at Paris. He found, however, strong opposition, especially among Republican senators, to several features of the treaty.

Questions and Exercises

I. 1. What events were the immediate causes of the Great War? What eight nations were first involved in the fighting? 2. What is meant by neutrality in war? Why was it difficult for the American people to be strictly neutral? 3. Name some of the important "munitions" of war. Why was an embargo on the export of munitions from the United States impossible?

II. 1. What led to the sinking of merchant vessels by Germany? How did this submarine warfare differ from the interference with an enemy's commerce in earlier wars? 2. Why did the sinking of the *Lusitania* especially anger the Americans? What steps did President Wilson take as a result of this event? 3. Who were the important candidates for the presidency in 1916? Name the principal issues of the campaign. What were some of the unexpected results of the election?

III. 1. Why did President Wilson dismiss von Bernstorff? 2. What is meant by "intrigue"? State some of the ways in which Germany plotted against the Americans even before war was declared between the two countries. When was war finally declared?

IV. 1. What is meant by an "autocracy"? How does autocracy in government differ from democracy? 2. Name some of the advantages of living in a democratic country as compared with living under an autocratic ruler. 3. Why is it necessary for the free peoples of the world to crush the "militarism" of the German empire?

V. 1. What is meant by a military "draft"? When before in our history have armies been raised in this way? (See Chapter XXI.) 2. What is the justification for using this method of raising an army in a democracy? 3. What steps did Congress take to provide money for carrying on the war? 4. What provision did Congress make to provide adequate food and fuel supplies during the war? Why was this necessary? 5. How did organized labor help win the war? By what method were industrial disputes settled during the war? 6. Why were the railroads placed under government control during the war? What action was taken for the control of express companies, telephone and telegraph lines? Why? 7. How was ship building encouraged? Why? 8. For what purposes was an insurance act passed by Congress? 9. Why was it necessary to pass the Espionage Law? 10. What was the attitude toward the war of most foreign-born citizens? 11. Relate briefly America's part in the war. 12. Trace briefly the steps leading to peace. 13. State briefly the main features of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points."

VI. 1. What were the fundamental features of the Peace Treaty? 2. State briefly the important territorial concessions of the treaty. 3. For what purpose was the League of Nations covenant drafted? 4. How might the provisions of this covenant affect the foreign policy of the United States? (See page 242.)

Problems for Further Study

1. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 had a very important bearing upon the Great War. A brief account of this earlier war will be found in Guerber's "Story of Modern France," pp. 294–309.

2. Name some of the important differences between the Great War and the other wars that this country has fought.

3. Read the War Address of President Wilson, and other related addresses. See "From Washington to Wilson," Macmillan Pocket Classics.

4. Let each member of the class look up and report on one of the following topics: Château-Thierry, the taking of the Argonne Forest, the American advance to the Rhine.

5. Look up important facts about some of the principal leaders of the American military and naval forces.

6. Look up the new methods of warfare employed in this war, such as the use of aircraft, tanks, gas, submarines.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE RECENT EVENTS AND THE GREAT WAR (CHAPTERS XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII)

- I. The New Democracy.
  - *A.* Causes of the increasing interest in the machinery of government.
    - 1. Popular education
    - 2. Wrongdoing on the part of public officers.
    - 3. Criticism of faithless officials.
    - 4. Problems of the cities.
    - 5. The education and employment of women.
  - *B.* Political reforms.
    - 1. Civil-service reform.
    - 2. Ballot reform.
    - 3. The initiative, referendum, and recall.
    - 4. The "commission" form of city government.
    - 5. The "city-manager" plan.
    - 6. Reforms in the organization of political parties.
    - 7. The direct primary.
    - 8. Woman suffrage.
- II. The early years of the twentieth century.
  - *A.* Roosevelt a new type of president.
  - *B.* The conservation movement.
    - 1. Its leaders.
    - 2. The Reclamation Act.
    - 3. The Forest Reserves.
  - *C.* The Panama Canal.
    - 1. Early history.
    - 2. Treaty with Great Britain.
    - 3. Dispute over routes.
    - 4. The Panama "revolution" and the cession of the Canal Zone.
    - 5. The building and opening of the canal.
  - *D.* Foreign affairs.
    - 1. The Treaty of Portsmouth.
    - 2. The journey of the fleet around the world.
  - *E.* The election of 1908.

- *F.* Taft's administration.
  - 1. Tariff revision and the income tax.
  - 2. Postal savings banks.
  - 3. The parcel post.
  - 4. Dissolution of the "trusts."
- *G.* The campaign of 1912.
  - 1. Dissatisfaction with Republican rule.
  - 2. The organization of the Progressive party.
  - 3. The nomination of Woodrow Wilson by the Democrats.
- *H.* Wilson's first administration.
  - 1. New laws: tariff, income tax, anti-trust, Federal Reserve banks.
  - 2. Troubles with Mexico.
    - *a.* Civil war in Mexico.
    - *b.* The Vera Cruz expedition.
    - *c.* The difficulties with Villa.
  - 3. American protectorates in Haiti and San Domingo.
  - 4. The purchase of the Virgin Islands.

III. The Great War.

- *A.* Europe on fire.
- *B.* American neutrality.
  - 1. The President's proclamation.
  - 2. Reasons for American neutrality.
  - 3. Difficulties in the way of strict neutrality.
- *C.* The submarine outrages.
  - 1. The *Lusitania* torpedoed and sunk.
  - 2. America's protest and Germany's agreement to modify her practices.
- *D.* The campaign of 1916: President Wilson reëlected.
- *E.* War with Germany and Austria.
  - 1. Germany renews unrestricted submarine warfare.
  - 2. German intrigue in the United States.
  - 3. War declared.
- *F.* The German autocracy.
  - 1. Nature of the German empire.
  - 2. Prussia practically an absolute monarchy.
  - 3. The Hohenzollern rule and its dreams of world domination.
  - 4. The need of crushing German militarism.

G. A democracy at war.
  1. The draft.
  2. War taxes.
  3. National control of food, fuel, and transportation.
  4. Adjustment of industrial disputes.
  5. Encouragement of ship building.
  6. Soldiers' insurance.
  7. Americans on the high seas and on the battle front.
  8. Steps leading up to the armistice.
  9. Signing the Treaty of Peace.

Important names:

Presidents: Roosevelt (1901–1909), Taft (1909–1913), Wilson (1913–).

Important dates: 1914; April 6, 1917; Nov. 11, 1918; June 28, 1919.

IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS ARRANGED BY PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS

1. Washington, George (1789–1797) Adams, John

Topics: Founding the Federal Government, p. 181; Amendments to the Constitution, first ten, p. 181; Measures proposed by Hamilton, pp. 182–185; Rise of two great political parties, pp. 186–187; Trouble with France and England, pp. 187, 188; Invention of cotton gin, p. 291; Washington's Farewell Address, p. 189.

2. Adams, John (1797–1801) Jefferson, Thomas

Topics: Troubles with France, p. 190; Alien and Sedition Laws, pp. 190, 191.

3. Jefferson, Thomas (1801–1809)
Burr, Aaron
Clinton, George

Topics: Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, p. 192; Agricultural development of the country, pp. 197, 198; Purchase of Louisiana (1803), pp. 198–203; Lewis and Clark Expedition, p. 203; Explorations of Pike, pp. 203–205; The first steamboat (1807), p. 302; Trouble with England and France, pp. 229–233.

4. Madison, James (1809–1817)
Clinton, George
Gerry, Elbridge

Topics: War with England, pp. 234–239; Hartford Convention, p. 236; Beginning of the struggle of the Spanish-American countries for freedom, pp. 240, 241; Tariff of 1816, p. 249; Financial panic, p. 250.

5. Monroe, James (1817–1825) Tompkins, Daniel D.

Topics: Purchase of Florida, p. 206; Monroe Doctrine, pp. 242–243; Missouri Compromise, pp. 254, 368, 369.

6. Adams, John Quincy (1825–1829) Calhoun, John C.

Topics: The tariff question, p. 253; Opening of the Erie Canal (1825), p. 299; First railway, p. 304.

7. Jackson, Andrew (1829–1837)
Calhoun, John C.
Van Buren, Martin

Topics: The "Spoils System," p. 255; The tariff, pp. 256, 259; The doctrine of nullification, pp. 256–259; Controversy over the United States Bank, pp. 260, 261; Texas asks admission, p. 272; Improvement in farm machinery, p. 296.

8. Van Buren, Martin (1837–1841) Johnson, Richard M.
   Topic: Panic of 1837, p. 261.
9. Harrison, William Henry, and Tyler, John (1841–1845)
   Topics: The tariff of 1842, p. 263; Webster-Ashburton Treaty, p. 263; Admission of Texas, p. 274; Invention of the telegraph, p. 307.
10. Polk, James K. (1845–1849) Dallas, George M.
    Topics: The Mexican War, pp. 263, 264; The Oregon boundary, pp. 278, 279; First Women's Rights Convention, p. 336.
11. Taylor, Zachary, and Fillmore, Millard (1849–1853)
    Topics: The Compromise of 1850, p. 376; The admission of California, pp. 281, 282, 375.
12. Pierce, Franklin (1853–1857) King, William R.
    Topics: Laying the Atlantic cable, p. 308; The organization of labor, p. 320; Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), pp. 379, 380.
13. Buchanan, James (1857–1861) Breckenridge, John C.
    Topics: Dred Scott Decision (1857), pp. 381, 382; John Brown's Raid, p. 383; Lincoln-Douglas debate, pp. 382, 383; The first secession, p. 390; The formation of the "Confederate States of America," p. 391.
14. Lincoln, Abraham (1861–1865) Hamlin, Hannibal
    Topics: The second group of states secedes, p. 395; The Civil War: Preparation for. pp. 395–398; Campaigns, pp. 398–423; War on the water, p. 408; Emancipation, p. 403; Development of industries, pp. 472–477.
15. Lincoln, Abraham, and Johnson, Andrew (1865–1869)
    Topics: Close of the war, p. 422; Assassination of Lincoln (April 14, 1865), p. 422; Cost of the war, p. 423; Reconstruction, pp. 430–434; Amendment of the Constitution, p. 432; Impeachment of Johnson, p. 434; Rise of the New South, p. 442; Industrial development of the North, p. 477.
16. Grant, Ulysses S. (1869–1877) Colfax, Schuyler
    Wilson, Henry
    Topics: Reconstruction problems, pp. 434, 440; Amendment to the Constitution, p. 434; Rise of the New South, pp. 442–453; Industrial development, pp. 472–492; The problem of silver money, p. 528; Railroad across the Rocky Mountains completed, p. 479; Industrial panic, p. 492; Arbitration agreement, p. 539.

17. Hayes, Rutherford B. (1877–1881) Wheeler, William A.
Topics: Problems of immigration, p. 505; Great strikes, p. 514; Invention of the electric light and telephone, p. 484.
18. Garfield, James A., and Arthur, Chester A. (1881–1885)
Topics: The assassination of Garfield (Sept. 19, 1881), p. 523; The tariff of 1883, pp. 524, 525; Civil-service reform, p. 535.
19. Cleveland, Grover (1885–1889) Hendricks, Thomas A.
Topics: The tariff issue, pp. 524, 525; Interstate Commerce Law, p. 532.
20. Harrison, Benjamin (1889–1893) Morton, Levi P.
Topics: The tariff of 1890, p. 525; Trust legislation, the Sherman Law, p. 533.
21. Cleveland, Grover (1893–1897) Stevenson, Adlai E.
Topics: The tariff revision, p. 526; The Venezuela affair, p. 540; The Hawaiian question, p. 541.
22. McKinley, William (1897–1901) Hobart, Garret A.
Topics: Annexation of Hawaii, p. 542; Cuban revolt against Spain, p. 544; War with Spain (1898), pp. 545, 551; Acquisition of Philippines, Porto Rico, Guam, pp. 549, 551; The Boxer Rebellion, p. 552; The silver question, p. 529.
23. McKinley, William, and Roosevelt, Theodore (1901–1905)
Topics: The assassination of McKinley, p. 588; The Conservation Movement, pp. 589, 590; Reclamation Act, p. 590.
24. Roosevelt, Theodore (1905–1909) Fairbanks, Charles W.
Topics: First legislation, p. 588; Conservation Movement, pp. 591, 592; The Panama Canal project, pp. 593–595; Russo-Japanese Peace, p. 596; Journey of the fleet around the world, p. 600.
25. Taft, William Howard (1909–1913) Sherman, James S.
Topics: Revision of the tariff, p. 598; Income tax proposed, p. 398; Postal Savings Banks established, p. 599; Parcel post discussed, p. 597; Formation of the Progressive party, p. 601; Trouble with Mexico, p. 60.
26. Wilson, Woodrow (1913–) Marshall, Thomas R.
Topics: Six new laws, pp. 602, 603; Troubles with Mexico, p. 601; American interests in the Caribbean, pp. 605, 606; Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 582; The Great War, pp. 609–637.

THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

Presidents.	State.	Born.	Died.	Length of Service.	Party.	Vice Presidents.
George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	2 terms, 1789–1797	(Unanimous)	John Adams
John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	1 term, 1797–1801	Federalists	Thomas Jefferson
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	2 terms, 1801–1809	Republicans	Aaron Burr George Clinton
James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	2 terms, 1809–1817	Republicans	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry
James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	2 terms, 1817–1825	Republicans	Daniel D. Tompkins
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1767	1848	1 term, 1825–1829	House of Representatives	John C. Calhoun
Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	2 terms, 1829–1837	Democrats	John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren
Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	1 term, 1837–1841	Democrats	Richard M. Johnson
William Henry Harrison	Ohio	1774	1841	1 month, March 4-April 4, 1841.	Whigs	John Tyler
John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 yrs., 11 mos., 1841–1845	Whigs	
James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	1 term, 1845–1849	Democrats	George M. Dallas
Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 yr., 4 mos., 5 days, 1849–1850	Whigs	Millard Fillmore
Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 yrs., 7 mos., 25 days, 1850–1853	Whigs	
Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	1804	1869	1 term, 1853–1857	Democrats	William R. King
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	1 term, 1857–1861	Democrats	John C. Breckenridge
Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	1 term, 1 mo., 10 days, 1861–1865	Republicans	Andrew Johnson Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson
Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 yrs., 10 mos., 20 days, 1865–1869	Republicans	
Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	2 terms, 1869–1877	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson
Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	1 term, 1877–1881	Republicans	William A. Wheeler
James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	6 mos., 15 days, 1881	Republicans	Chester A. Arthur
Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 yrs., 5 mos., 15 days, 1881–1885	Republicans	
Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1885–1889	Democrats	Thomas A. Hendricks
Benjamin Harrison	Ohio	1833	1901	1 term, 1889–1893	Republicans	Levi P. Morton
Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1893–1897	Democrats	Adlai E. Stevenson
William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	1 term, 6 mos., 10 days, 1897–1901	Republicans	Garret A. Hobart Theodore Roosevelt
Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1858	1919	1 term, 3 yrs., 5 mos., 20 days, 1901–1909	Republicans	Charles W. Fairbanks
William H. Taft	Ohio	1857	....	1909–1913	Republicans	James S. Sherman
Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	1856	....	1913–	Democrats	Thomas R. Marshall

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people [p. 128].[1]

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us [p. 125]:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world [p. 128]:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent [pp. 123, 126]:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury [p. 121]:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

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[1] Page numbers in brackets refer to pages of the text.

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

[Signers arranged by States]

New Hampshire — Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay — Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island — Step. Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut — Roger Sherman, Sam'el Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York — Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Frans. Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey — Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fras. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania — Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.

Delaware — Cæsar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland — Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia — George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina — Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina — Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, Junr., Thomas Lynch, Junr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia — Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

ANNOTATED CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

[*Preamble*]

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

[*Legislative Department*]

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature [pp. 172, 437].

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes [1] shall be apportioned [p. 171] among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

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[1] See the 16th Amendment, p. 664.

[2] Partly superseded by the 14th Amendment. (See below, p. 663.)

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State [p. 171], chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years [p. 172]; and each senator shall have one vote.[1]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.[1]

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

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[1] See the 17th Amendment, below, p. 664.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises [pp. 165, 173, 185], to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations [pp. 165, 171], and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies [pp. 165, 173], but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the

States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight [p. 172], but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken [p. 171].[1]

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another [p. 165].

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts [p. 168]; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports [p. 165], except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

[*Executive Department*]

SECTION 1. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America [pp. 165, 172]. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

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[1] See the 16th Amendment, below, p. 664.

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct [p. 172], a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[1] The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President [p. 192], if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President [p. 192]; and if no person have a majority then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President [p. 192]. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.[2]

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall

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[1] The following paragraph was in force only from 1788 to 1803.

[2] Superseded by the 12th Amendment. (See p. 662.)

have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties [p. 203], provided two thirds of the senators present concur [p. 365]; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. 1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

[*Judicial Department*]

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish [p. 173]. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State;[1] — between citizens of different States, — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and to fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. 1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

[*Return of Escaped Slaves; New States: Territories*]

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be dis-

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[1] See the 11th Amendment, p. 661.

charged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due [pp. 367, 377].

Section 3. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union [p. 367]; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States [pp. 210, 211, 370, 375, 379, 382]; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence [p. 168].

ARTICLE V

[*Provision for Amendments*]

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

[*Public Debts; Supremacy of the Constitution*]

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation [p. 181].

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the

United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

[*Ratification*]

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

Go: Washington —
Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

[*The Right of Persons* (p. 181)]

ARTICLE I[1]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press [p. 191]; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

[1] The first ten Amendments adopted in 1791.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

[*The Rights of States*]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI[1]

[*Suits against States*]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States [p. 182] by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

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[1] Adopted in 1798.

ARTICLE XII[1]

[*Change in Electoral System*]

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots, the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII[2]

[*Slavery Prohibited*]

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction [pp. 404–406].

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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[1] Adopted in 1804.

[2] Adopted in 1865.

ARTICLE XIV [pp. 432–433][1]

[*Who Are Citizens*]

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

[*Apportionment of Representatives and the Suffrage*]

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

[*Exclusion of Certain Persons from Office*]

3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

[*Union and Confederate Debts*]

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

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[1] Adopted in 1868.

ARTICLE XV [p. 435][1]

[*Right to Vote*]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied, or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI[2]

[*Income Tax*]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII[3]

[*Popular Election of Senators*]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII[4]

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

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[1] Adopted in 1870.

[2] Passed July, 1909; proclaimed February 25, 1913.

[3] Passed May, 1912, in lieu of paragraph one, Section 3, Article I, of the Constitution and so much of paragraph two of the same Section as relates to the filling of vacancies; proclaimed May 31, 1913.

[4] Passed both houses of Congress, December, 1917; ratified by the required number of states on January 16, 1919, and proclaimed to take effect January 16, 1920.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

REFERENCE BOOKS

I. APPROVED LIST AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS SUGGESTED FOR GENERAL READING AND STUDY

Channing. — "History of the United States," 8 vols.
McMaster. — "History of the People of the United States," 7 vols.
[1] Rhodes. — "History of the United States," 7 vols.
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Coman. — "Industrial History of the United States."
Elson. — "History of the United States."
[1] Mead (Editor). — "Old South Leaflets." Reprints of important original documents with historical and biographical notes.
[1] Green. — "A Short History of England."
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[1] "The Crusaders."
[1] Guizot. — "History of Civilization in France," 3 vols.
[2] Chamberlain. — "Geographic Readers."
"True Stories of Great Americans," a series of biographies of great personages in our history.
[1] "Stories from American History," several volumes on the various aspects of our history.
State and local histories.

II. LISTED IN THE TEXT UNDER PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

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Coombs. — "Ulysses S. Grant."
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[1] Listed in the "Report of the Committee of Eight."

[2] Listed in the "Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education."

[1] Eggleston. — "Our First Century."
[1] Elson. — "Side-Lights on American History."
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